

EARLY TYPOGRAPHIC PRACTICES AFTER THE SCRIPT REFORM IN  
TURKEY: RESEARCH AND CASE STUDY FOCUSING ON THE  
CUMHURİYET NEWSPAPER

by  
AYLİN KARAMAN

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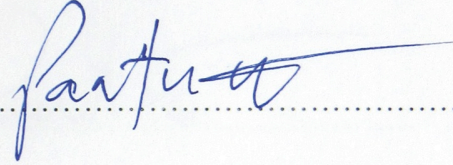


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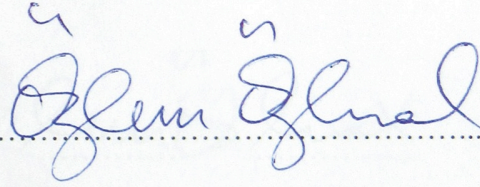
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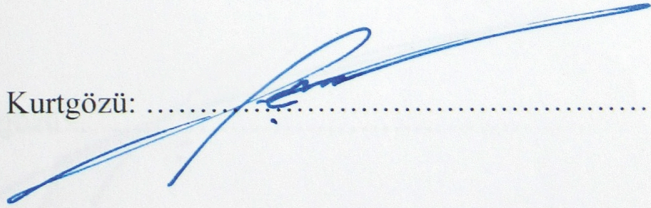
(Thesis Supervisor)



Asst. Prof. Özlem Özkal: .....



Asst. Prof. Aren Emre Kurtgözü: .....



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## ABSTRACT

### EARLY TYPOGRAPHIC PRACTICES AFTER THE SCRIPT REFORM IN TURKEY: RESEARCH AND CASE STUDY FOCUSING ON THE CUMHURIYET NEWSPAPER

Aylin Karaman

M.A, Thesis, December 2017

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Bratislav Pantelić

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After the declaration of the script reform in August, newspapers began to practice the new script gradually. They were like the cavalry troop of the Turkish Script Reform (Akçura, 2012). They became the most significant medium to introduce and spread the New Turkish Script to the public. During the transition to the new script, the newspapers began to learn the new script; on the other hand, they carried out the compelling mission of teaching it to their audience.

This thesis aims to investigate the early typographic practices after the Script Reform in Turkey and mainly focuses on the typographic transformation which were implemented on the Cumhuriyet newspaper during the transition period to the New Turkish script. Through this perspective, a research and case study was conducted to obtain data about typographic preferences. The findings of this study was analysed to present the typographic arrangements, diversity and distribution of the Latin script during the transition period.

## ÖZET

### TÜRKİYE’DE HARF DEVRİMİ SONRASI İLK TİPOGRAFİK UYGULAMALAR: CUMHURİYET GAZETESİ ÜZERİNE ODAKLANAN ARAŞTIRMA VE ÖRNEK İNCELEME

Aylin Karaman

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Tipografi, Harf Devrimi, Türk Alfabesi, Cumhuriyet Gazetesi,  
Latin Alfabesi

Harf devriminin Ağustos ayında duyurulmasının ardından, gazeteler aşamalı olarak yeni harfleri uygulamaya başlamıştır. Bu süreçte gazeteler Türk Harf Devrimi’nin süvari birlikleri olmuşlardır. Yeni harflere geçiş sürecinde bir yandan yeni harfleri öğrenmeye çabalarken, diğer yandan okuyucularına yeni harfleri öğretmek gibi zorlu bir görevi üstlenmişlerdir.

Bu tez, Türkiye’de Harf Devrimi sürecinde tipografi uygulamalarını incelemeyi amaçlamış ve özellikle geçiş sürecinde Cumhuriyet gazetesinde gerçekleşen tipografik değişime odaklanmıştır. Bu perspektif doğrultusunda, tipografik tercihler hakkında veri toplayabilmek amacıyla bir araştırma ile vaka incelemesi yapılmış ve bu çalışmada elde edilen bulgular Latin harflerini geçiş sürecinde uygulanan tipografik düzenlemeleri, çeşitlilik ve dağılımı ortaya koymak üzere analiz edilmiştir.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Turkish Script Reform was one of the Kemalist reforms, which was made during the Republican period. Although the legislation and implementation of the Script reform was accomplished in a short period, the socio-political background of the reform was dating back to *Tanzimat* period. *Tanzimat* reforms, especially the ones made in the educational field, in the long run stimulated the debates and proposals about the Arabic script.

Turkic civilisations founded states in different geographies throughout their history until the middle of the ninth century. Because of their nomadic lifestyle, Turkic tribes used various scripts under the influence of the societies in which they lived. *Göktürk* and Uyghur and Arabic scripts are the prominent scripts that have been used throughout Turkic history (Turan, 1990). Turkic tribes discontinued their use of the *Uyghur* script and began to use the Arabic script after their acceptance of Islam around tenth century. Arabic script is the longest and most widely used script by Turkic people (Ibid). However, in the nineteenth century, the Arabic script began to be questioned among the intellectuals, writers and bureaucrats. In the course of time, the reformation of the Arabic script and the adoption of the Latin script became a possibility. The debates about the script issues proceeded till the twentieth century and continued during the Republican period. Eventually, on November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1928, the government made the Script Reform by accepting "The New Turkish Script Law". Since that reform, the Turkish Script, which derived from the Latin Script, has been in use in Turkey.

This thesis aims to investigate the early typographic practices after the Script Reform. It mainly focuses on the typographic transformation which was implemented in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper during the transition period to the New Turkish script. Through this perspective, a research and case study was conducted to obtain data about typographic preferences and the findings of this study were analysed to present the typographic arrangements, diversity and distribution of the Latin script during the transition period.

In the second chapter of this thesis, the development of printing and newspapers will be explained to draw attention towards the technical conditions during the reform period. In the third chapter, the detailed information about the Script Reform will be presented including the socio-political background. Finally, in chapter four, the research and the case study will be presented and the findings of the case study will be explained.

## 2. DEVELOPMENT OF PRINTING AND NEWSPAPERS

In this chapter, the development of printing and newspapers is presented in parallel with the scope of this thesis. Beside the socio-political and educational issues, the technical complexity of using the Arabic script was another significant issue underlying the reformation process. By this reason, the technical conditions and improvements of the printing shops and newspapers were explained in detail to make the transformation period more comprehensible.

The establishment of printing shops in the Ottoman Empire dates back as early as 1490s. The first printing shop in the empire was founded by the non-muslims (Akçura, 2012). Until the eighteenth century, there was not any Turkish printing facility in Ottoman Empire. On July 15<sup>th</sup> 1727, Ahmet III officially declared the opening of the first printing shop of the Ottoman Empire, and it founded by the İbrahim Müteferrika. The first book printed by this printing shop was a dictionary, *Vankulu Lügat-ı* (Berkes, 1964). Among the numerous books printed in this shop, *Grammaire Turque* (Turkish Grammar) had a special place. *Grammaire Turque* was a Turkish Grammar book printed in French, which was the first book printed with Latin script in an Ottoman printing shop.

Later in 1795, the second Ottoman printing shop “*Mühendishane Matbaası*” (The Printing Shop of the Engineering School) was established as a part of the modernist reforms of Selim III (1789-1807). In 1798, one of the beautiful examples of the Ottoman printing, the book “*Tableau des Nouveaux Reglemens de l’Empire Ottoman*” of Mahmud Raif Efendi was printed by *Mühendishane Matbaası* (Akçura, 2012). (Figure.1)

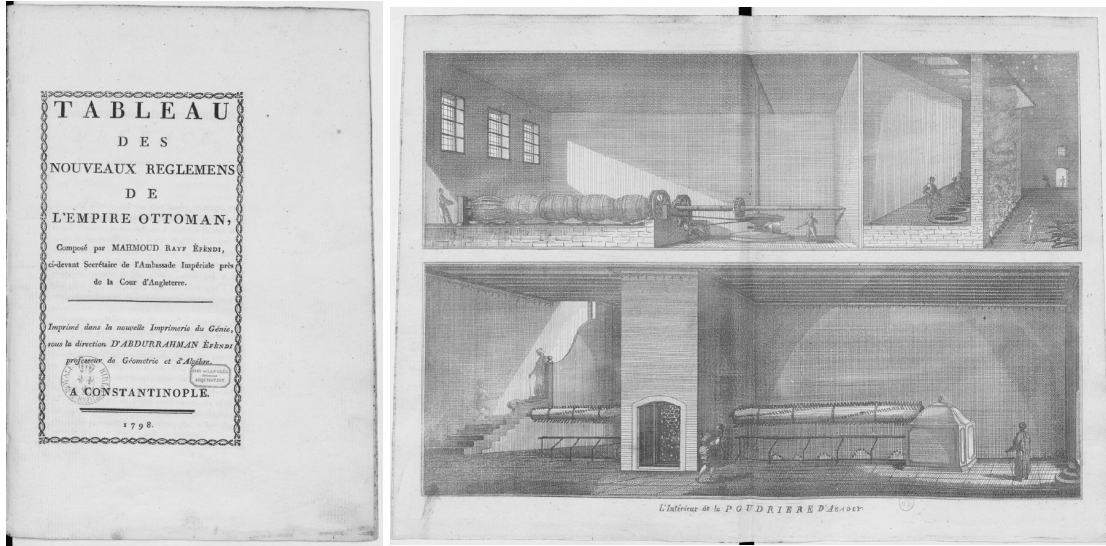


Figure 1. Pages from “*Tableau des Nouveaux Reglemens de l’Empire Ottoman*”

With the rise in literacy brought about by the new secular schools of the *Tanzimat* “innumerable public and private Ottoman printing shops and publishing houses were established in Istanbul and the other major cities, producing almost 3000 books during the next half-century.” (Shaw & Shaw 1977, p.128) The intellectuals, writers and bureaucrats began to take a close interest in their own language with the rise of the printing and publishing activities in Ottoman Empire and they began to question the Ottoman language and the Arabic script. The debates and proposals presented on the previous chapter began during this period.

In 1831, “*Matbaa-i Amire*” (State Printing Shop) was established by the government and began to publish “*Takvim-i Vekai*” (Calendar of Events), the first official newspaper of the Ottoman Empire. The recognition of the newspaper by the Ottoman people, had been through this newspaper. However, *Takvim-i Vekai* was a newspaper which aimed for the government officials (Lewis, 2002). It was an important attempt, unfortunately it was not a newspaper for ordinary folk (Berkes, 1964). Another printing shop, *Ceridehane* was founded in 1840 by William Churchill, to publish *Ceride-i Havadis* (Journal of News) newspaper (Akçura, 2012). *Ceride-i Havadis* was the first private newspaper printed in Turkish.

In 1860, Çapanzade Agah Efendi founded the *Tercüman-ı Ahval* (Interpreter of Conditions) newspaper in 1860 (Lewis, 2002). *Tercüman-ı Ahval* newspaper was the

first informal Turkish newspaper to be published by Ottoman Turks, and the first newspaper, which represented the Opinion Journalism in Turkey (Berkes, 1964). Then, Şinasi decided to found his own newspaper *Tasfir-i Efkar* (Illustration of Opinion) in 1862. Namık Kemal (1840-1888) became the editor of this “outspokenly political” newspaper (Lewis, 2002).

Around 1860s, the printing shops began to spread to the provinces of the Ottoman Empire after the declaration of Provincial Regulations<sup>1</sup>. The first provincial printing shop opened in Syria (1864). Afterwards, the amount of provincial printing shops was increased, several other provincial printing shops were opened in provinces such as Salonika, Sivas, Ankara and Bursa. According to the research done by Kocabaşoğlu and Birinci, the %24 of these printing shops were only capable to make letterpress and %72 of them were making both letterpress and lithography (Kocabaşoğlu & Birinci, 1995).

In the following years, several commercial printing shops were opened and some of them survived even during the Republican period such as *Matbaa-i Osmaniye* (Ottoman Printing Shop), which was founded by Osman Zeki Bey, in 1878. *Matbaa-i Osmaniye* was a well-equipped printing shop with its eighteen printing machine and nine lithography and nine platen printing machines (Burçoğlu, 2001). *Matbaa-i Osmaniye* was known as the first printing shop which had permission to print Koran (Akçura, 2012).

During the reign of Abdülhamit II, the prohibitions and restrictions became highly effective over press. The censorship on press began in 1878 and increasingly continued until the 1907. Although Abdülhamit II was not against to the spread of the printing and newspapers, he desired to manipulate and control them. As a consequence of his approach, the press became standardized in terms of content. However, this standardization began to stimulate the technical improvements, such as the importation of the new printing and typesetting machines from the European countries (Koloğlu, 2015). Meanwhile, despite the restrictions of Abdülhamit II, new newspapers were begun to be published such as *Sabah* (1875), *Tarik* (1881), *Mizan* (1886) and *İkdam* (1894) with improved technical feasibility.

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<sup>1</sup> On November 2nd, 1864, the Provincial Regulation was declared in the Ottoman Empire. The 7<sup>th</sup> article of this regulation indicated that in every province an editorial department will be opened and the printing shops will be under the responsibility of the editorial department (Akçura, 2012).

The second constitutional period which began after the Young Turk Revolution on July 1908, was a milestone for newspapers. As an unintended consequence of the constitution, a press boom in Ottoman Empire was stimulated. In other words, the declaration of the constitution in 1908 caused unexpectedly high activity in the press. Koloğlu stated that “the press boom was very intense that it should be called a press craze instead” (Koloğlu, 2005). While the total amount of newspapers in Ottoman Empire was 120 at the first half of 1908, and it increased to 730 during the first seven months of the second constitutional period. The printing shops spread rapidly all over the empire in a short time period. While some important newspapers of the reign of Abdülhamit II such as *Sabah* and *İkdam* renewing themselves according to constitutional opinions, on the other hand new newspapers were began to be published such as *Tanin* (1908), *Yeni Gazete* (New Newspaper – 1908). Within the scope of this thesis the press boom was explained by focusing on the newspapers; however, during this period a great amount of periodicals were published. In the following six years, approximately 1600 new press permit applications were made in the Ottoman Empire (Koloğlu, 2015).

After 1918, the developments on printing shops and newspapers were decelerated because of the War of Independence. Despite the occupation of Istanbul by the British, French and Italian forces newspapers such as *Vakit*, *Sabah*, *İkdam*<sup>2</sup> and *Tasfir-i Efkar* continued to be published in Istanbul. During the National Struggle the newspapers became the voice of the War of Independence. Within this period, “*İrade-i Milliye*” the first official newspaper of National Struggle began to be published on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1919 in Sivas provincial printing shop which had only one printing machine and couple of job cases (Kocabaşoğlu, 1995). These technical conditions were valid for the most printing shops in the Empire at that time. The employees were typesetting manually and printing machines were working with manpower (Ibid.) (Figure.2)

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<sup>2</sup> *İkdam* was one of the best-selling newspapers during the reign of Abdülhamit II. The selling rates reached around 40.000 during the Constitutional period.



Figure 2. Typesetting office of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper around 1930s

One year later, the first official newspaper of National Struggle *İrade-i Milliye* moved from Sivas to Ankara. The name of the newspaper changed into *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (National Sovereignty) newspaper and began to be published weekly in Ankara provincial printing shop, which was the only printing shop in Ankara at that time. This provincial printing shop was using a *Marinoni* printing machine which produced in 1827. In the following process, the malfunction of the machine caused many inconveniences during the publication of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. However, purchasing the newer equipment of *Yeni Dünya* (New World) printing shop from Eskişehir, solved this technical problem. *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, began to be published daily after February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1921 by means of the new equipment (Akçura, 2012).

In 1920, *Yeni Gün* (New Day) newspaper became the second newspaper published in Ankara province. In fact that, *Yeni Gün* newspaper was published for first time on September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1918, in Istanbul. After the occupation of Istanbul Yunus Nadi, the owner of the *Yeni Gün* decided to move the newspaper to Ankara. On August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1920,

the first issue of *Yeni Gün* (New Day) newspaper was published in Ankara provincial printing shop. However, *Yeni Gün* newspaper was confronted with the same technical problems that *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper faced before. This time *Marinoni* printing machine of provincial printing shop could not be used no longer. After a year, *Yeni Gün* newspaper continued to be published regularly after the new Augsburg printing machine was received (Coşar, 1963). *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *Yeni Gün* newspapers continued to be published in Ankara until 1924. Later, on May 7<sup>th</sup> 1924, *Yeni Gün* newspaper moved back to Istanbul. The name of the newspaper changed and became *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. In the meantime, there were several newspapers in Istanbul which were still in existence since the National Struggle period such as *Milliyet*, *İkdam*, *Son Saat*, *Vakit* and *Akşam*. Within this period, the total selling rates of the newspaper in Istanbul was around 50.000<sup>3</sup> (Kocabaşoğlu, 1982).

In the early years of the Republic, some of the newspapers and printing shops began to purchase new printing machines and equipment in order to improve their business. For instance, Yunus Nadi bought a Rotary printing machine for the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper from a trade fair in Europe (Akçura, 2012). (Figure.3) However, with the script reform purchasing the new equipment, especially new typefaces became a mandatory for the most of the newspapers and printing shops. During that period, *Kohenka* brothers and *Burla* brothers were the only suppliers who were importing the needs of printing shops and newspapers from Europe. Several Berthold<sup>4</sup> type foundry advertisements by *Burla* brothers could be encountered in different newspapers such as *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*. *Burla* brothers had significant role on the importing this technical equipment during the transition to the new script. Most of the newspapers began preparations and gave orders from their company months ago, before the Law for Script reform entered into force. During the transition period, the early practices of the New Turkish script were implemented within these circumstances.

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<sup>3</sup> Selling rates of the newspapers; *İkdam* 6000, *Vatan* 7000-8000, *İstiklal* 3000, *Vakit* 17000, *Son Saat* 8000. (Kocabaşoğlu, 1982)

<sup>4</sup> H. Berthold AG, was one of the largest and most successful type foundry. Foundry established in 1858 by Hermann Berthold in Berlin.



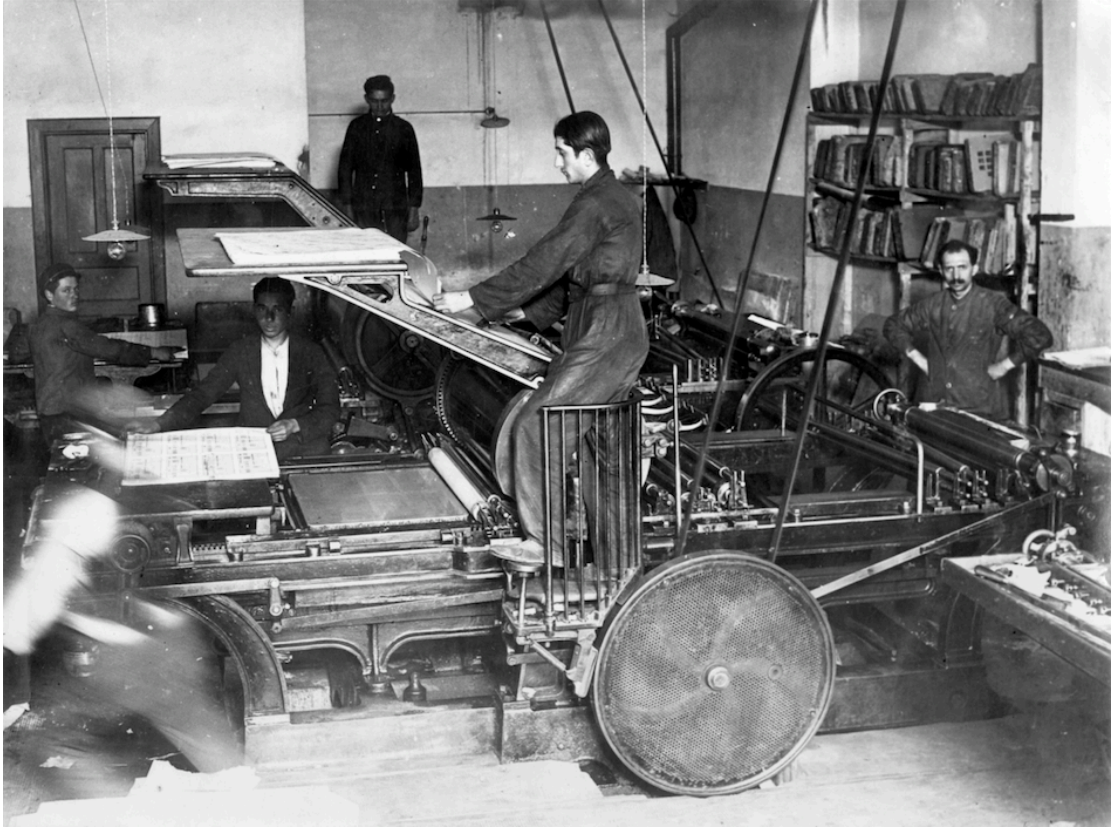


Figure 3. Rotary press machine in the printing shop of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper

### **3. THE SCRIPT REFORM**

#### **3.1 Socio-Political Background**

The story of the Turkish Script Reform is closely linked with the cultural and political history of Turkish society, which makes sense since language is a major factor in the national identity. In this chapter background information is presented from the early modernisation movements of the Ottoman Empire to the rise of Turkish nationalism and the Turkish Script Reform of the Republican era. Although the *Tanzimat Fermanı* (Edict of Reform - 1839) was declared just after Mahmut II's death, the modernizing reforms had begun during his reign. To comprehend better the intellectual and cultural development of the society, it makes sense to review the socio-political background of the Turkish Script Reform starting with the reign of Mahmut II (1808-1839).

During the reign of Mahmut II, the Empire was forced into changing its policies, both domestic and foreign, to keep pace with the West. During this era, the Ottomans desperately needed the knowledge of Europe, European science and technology (Zürcher, 2004). The policies of Mahmut II primarily aimed to create effective bureaucracy and strengthen the Ottoman army. Secondly, they aimed to improve the educational system to help ensure the success of the primary reforms.

With the policies of Mahmut II, contact with the West increased, and more people began to engage with the culture and language of the European countries. For instance, the foundation of the *Tercüme Odası* (Translation Office) in 1821, was an important development in the intellectual history of the Ottoman Empire. It was established to

translate external and intercommunal government correspondences but eventually it evolved into “a college of foreign languages where the future Turkish intellectuals got their start” (Berkes, 1964, p.128). Young Ottoman bureaucrats began to be exposed not only to western languages but also to western ideas (Davison, 1977). Another significant improvement was the establishment of the modern and secular *rüşdiye* (middle) schools in 1838. These new eight-year schools were for boys between the ages of 10 and 15 who had graduated from the *mektep* (school), which was the traditional primary school where children learned the Koran. Reforms in the field of education were implemented during the reign of Mahmut II and continued in the next periods.

In the meantime, during the reign of Mahmut II, the idea of an Ottoman state began to emerge, “which was composed of people from diverse nationalities and religions, based on secular principles of sovereignty as contrasted with the medieval concept of an Islamic empire” (Berkes, 1964, p.90). Consequently, the new doctrine Ottomanism, which emphasised the equality of all subjects in the empire, also emerged (Johnson, 2004). In 1839, the *Tanzimat Fermanı* (Edict of Reform) was officially declared by Sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861). With the declaration of the reform period, Ottomanism was formalized and the equality of all subjects regardless of religion was guaranteed (Davison, 1977). The Empire thus aimed at strengthening its independence and unity by consolidating the loyalty of its subjects. It was hoped that these precautions would preserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire (Berkes, 1964).

The reforms of the *Tanzimat* period (1839-1871) included regulations for the army, bureaucracy, administration, taxation, communication and education. Among these, education was the particularly important area of reform. During this period, the primary goal of educational reforms was the creation of professional training colleges. A secular and modern educational system was seen as essential to create a cadre to execute the modern army and the central bureaucracy of the Empire. For instance, in 1838, a school named the *Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliye* (School for Secular Learning) was founded for the specific purpose of training bureaucrats for government employment (Zürcher, 2004). Then, in 1859, the *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* (Civil Service School) was founded, as the peak of the educational pyramid of the empire (Ibid). During the modernisation period, these new schools and improved educational system created an awareness about the difficulties of learning and teaching in the Arabic script, and the necessity for the

reformation of the script became a contemporary issue. Consequently, the first debates and proposals about the reformation of the Arabic script emerged. The reformist approach of the *Tanzimat* intellectuals, bureaucrats and writers who participated in the debates on script would shape the reform process in future (Ibid). The details about these debates and proposals on the Arabic script will be presented in the following chapter.

Around the 1860s, a new intellectual movement emerged in the Ottoman Empire known as the Young Ottomans. Namık Kemal, İbrahim Şinasi and Ziya Pasha were the founders of this movement. The Young Ottomans movement, based on Islamism, did not substantially reject the ideology of Ottomanism, but criticized its secularism as inadequate. They emphasized the importance of freedom and being guaranteed constitutional protection regarding the rights of the individual in the empire (Mardin, 1962). Young Ottoman writers began to see the huge gap between the literary language and the spoken language as a significant issue. These writers criticised the complexity of the literary language and the Arabic script. They participated in the debates on the Arabic script through newspaper articles. The Young Ottoman intellectuals were advocating the reformation of the Arabic script and they were against the idea of adoption of the Latin script.

In 1869, the Edict of Education, a new regulation for public education was declared by Sultan Abdülaziz (1861-1876). With this regulation, a three-tier system of education began in the Empire. This system foresaw *ruşdiye* schools in every large village or town quarter, civilian *idadiye* (secondary) schools in every town, and colleges called *sultaniye* (imperial) schools in every provincial capital (Zürcher, 2004). *Galatasaray* (1868) and *Dariüşşafaka* (1873) were the only *sultaniye* schools which were established during this era. Especially *Galatasaray Sultanisi* was founded to provide the empire well-educated, outward looking generations (Shaw & Shaw, 1977). Although during the 1870s, the progress of the new system was slow at best, in the following era the number of schools rapidly increased.

During the reign of Abdülhamit II (1876-1909), Islamism became the "most widespread ideological force in the Ottoman Empire (Ibid). However, this powerful ideology conflicted with the perspective of the Westernizers. While Islamists accepted Western superiority only from the technical aspects, the Westernizers defended the necessity to

embrace Western culture as well (Toprak, 1981). In this socio-political climate, Abdülhamit II emphasized the Islamic and Arabic culture while maintaining the modernisation process that had begun with his predecessors (Zürcher, 2004). Improvements in the field of education were some of the greatest achievements during his reign. *Mülkiye* (school for training civil servants) and *Harbiye* (War College) schools were expanded and eighteen new schools opened for professional and higher education. The number of secular *rüşdiye* schools increased and the *Dariülfünun* (Istanbul) University opened finally in 1900, after two previous attempts in 1870 and 1881 (Shaw & Shaw, 1977). Eventually, this improved educational system served to educate the Ottoman intellectuals and bureaucrats who would later challenge his authority and bring his reign to an end. These new generation Ottomans especially the ones that trained in *Mülkiye* or *Harbiye* began to be attracted by constitutional and liberal ideas (Zürcher, 2004).

In the late 1890s, a union formed in Paris which named *Jeunes Turcs* (Young Turks), which became *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Society of Union and Progress, CUP) in 1895. This union consisted of modern educated bureaucrats and officers who would later organize the constitutional revolution in 1908 to modernize the state and society through positivist and nationalist ideologies. The Young Turks tried to disseminate and impose the Turkish language on all subjects of the empire (Lewis, 1999). Ahmet Rıza, the leading figure of CUP published the main opposition newspaper *Meşveret* (Consultation) in both French and Ottoman (Hanioglu, 1995). In this newspaper, Ahmet Rıza frequently wrote his ideas about the education system of the Ottoman Empire. Rıza stated that all of the problems of the Ottoman society could only be solved with a better education system (Gündüz & Bardak, 2010).

In the meantime, the Ottoman intellectuals were aware of the dissolution of the Empire and they were searching for the solutions. In 1904, Yusuf Akçura<sup>5</sup> wrote an essay entitled *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Three Kinds of Policy or Three Political Ways) and examined Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and Turkism as the fundamentals for loyalty and national identity. Akçura suggested Turkism as a way to preserve Ottoman loyalty and as a way to develop it (Lewis, 1999). His ideas were marking the “political Turkism”

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<sup>5</sup> Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935): Akçura elected to the national assembly continuously from 1923 to 1939. He was the president of the Turkish Historical Society (1932-1935) and professor of Turkish history at Istanbul University in the 1930s.

which would evolve increasingly during the Second Constitutional period (Georgeon, 1980).

After the Young Turk revolution, criticisms on education and language increased and several literary movements developed such as *Yeni Lisan* (New Language) in 1911. Ziya Gökalp, who was part of the *Yeni Lisan* (New Language) movement and the pioneer of the Turkism ideology, defined nationality with regard to Turkism as unity in culture and language. According to him, “nationality is solely based on upbringing” (Gökalp 1959, p.44). Further, he defended the idea that nationalism was based not on racial origin but on education and feeling. Gökalp was the first intellectual who approached the language issue from the nationalistic view. He advocated purging Persian and Arabic words from the language and creating a new script based on the Istanbul dialect (Heyd, 1950). Later, several intellectuals inspired by his nationalist approach made proposals about the reform of the Arabic script. For instance, in 1908 Doctor Milaşi İsmail Hakkı developed a writing system with a modified form of the Arabic script by modifying the vowels of the Arabic script to represent better the vowel sounds of Turkish. Later Enver Pasha<sup>6</sup> advocated to use another reformed Arabic script during the World War I. Although this may have been an important attempt, it was very bad timing to make such a change in a time of war (Ülkütaşır, 1973). In the following section, these proposals and attempts are discussed in detail.

When the Ottoman Empire was occupied by the armies of the Allies of World War I<sup>7</sup> (1914-1918), Turkish revolutionaries, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, began the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923). While the War of Independence continued, several congresses were organized in Amasya, Sivas and Erzurum to inform and unite people about the struggle. Terms such as nation and national were featured in the declarations of these congresses, and the War of Independence was also called the National Struggle. This struggle increased the national consciousness mostly around religion and the desire to achieve independence during the war. At the end of the war, the Sultanate and the Caliphate were discredited, which became an advantage for the Westernists overcoming the religious based opposition for the cultural transformation

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<sup>6</sup> Enver Pasha (1881–1922): He was a leading member of the CUP from 1906 onwards and leader of the military wing of the CUP, especially after the coup of 1913. He became a general and was appointed as the Minister of War (1914 -1918).

<sup>7</sup> The Allies of World War I that occupied the Ottoman Empire: Greece (on the Western front), Armenia (on the Eastern), France (on the Southern), United Kingdom and Italy (Constantinople / Istanbul)

(Turan, 1991). Consequently, the new Turkish nation began to take form under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal and the Kemalist ideology.

In the subsequent process, the Grand National Assembly was established, and significant resolutions such as the removal of the Sultanate and the Caliphate were taken. These radical Kemalist reforms began to alter Turkish society and define its new identity, and the late Ottoman intellectuals also supported them. The Kemalist ideas of national unity and sovereignty can be explained with the principles of populism. Mustafa Kemal rejected class struggle and offered populism as a union of classes. This idea was advocated previously by Ziya Gökalp in 1918 (Berkes, 1964).

Reforms continued after the proclamation of the republic, which were transforming the Turkish nation from one following a Middle Eastern Islamic tradition to a modern Western society (Toprak, 1981). In this period of transformation the Script debates re-emerged. This time they were not just about literacy and education problems but also “a part of the ideological project of the Turkish nation building” (Yılmaz, 2013, p.140). In 1927, preparations for the adoption of the Latin script began with the instructions of Mustafa Kemal. In a speech he gave in Gülhane, the reform was declared to the public for the first time and the Script Mobilization began throughout the country. After this process, the Law for the New Turkish Script entered into force on November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1928. This reform can be analysed as a way “to cut off Turkish society from its Ottoman and Middle Eastern Islamic traditions and to reorient it towards the west” (Zürcher, 1993, 197). However, people embraced the New Turkish Script and learned it with great enthusiasm.

The New Turkish Script had an essential role not only in the creation of a more educated and literate population, but also in the creation of the national identity of the Turkish people. It became a significant part of the Republican culture, even for those who proceeded to oppose or criticise the Republic being excessive in terms of secularism or anti-Islamic perspective (Yılmaz, 2013). With the Turkish Script Reform, the Turkish nation accomplished reconstruction and attained a secular, modern and nationalist image.

## 3.2 Debates And Proposals On Script

### 3.2.1 Tanzimat Period

During the period of Mahmut II, along with the reforms in the field of education the awareness about the inconveniences posed by the Arabic script began to increase. While the modernisation efforts were continued throughout the *Tanzimat* period, intellectuals, writers and bureaucrats began to discuss this issue and some made proposals for a reformation of the Arabic script in order to reflect better the sounds of Turkish (Berkes, 2002).

Ahmet Cevdet Efendi, one of the prominent figures of the *Tanzimat*, wrote on the reformation of the Arabic script for the first time in the book named *Kavaid-i Osmaniye* (Ottoman Rules) in 1851, which prepared for the *Encümen-i Daniş* (The Privy Council). He emphasized that a solution needed to be developed in regard to the vowel letters which were used in the spoken Turkish language but were lacking the Arabic script (Ülkütaşır, 1973). Then, Ahmet Cevdet Efendi articulated his approach on the Arabic script in meetings of *Encümen-i Daniş*. In consequence of his attempt, the Arabic script were used with *hareke* (vowel points) for the printing of textbooks in between 1863 - 1864.

Following Ahmet Cevdet Efendi, Münif Pasha pointed out the problems of using Arabic script on May 12<sup>th</sup>, 1862 in the conference organized by *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* (Ottoman Scientific Society) which was founded by him. Münif Pasha accused the Arabic script for the illiteracy of the public and offered two potential solutions for a spelling reformation to improve the use of the script (Berkes, 2002). The first solution was the use of diacritics, which were required by the phonology of the Turkish language. The second one, which Münif Pasha preferred, was the writing or printing of letters in a detached manner (Lewis, 1999).

In 1863, Mirza Feth-Ali Ahundzade presented a reform proposal to the Grand Vizier Fuat Pasha, which suggested the addition of new letters to the Arabic script which would stand for vowels. Fuat Pasha passed on Ahunzade's proposal, "*Harflerin Islahı*" ("The Reformation of the Script"), to the *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* (Ottoman Scientific Society) for evaluation. Although the society was convinced that the



reformation was necessary, their decision was unfavourable because of the potential difficulties of implementing the changes (Ülkütaşır, 1981).

In the following years, the increasing number of newspapers made them an important forum for debates about the script. Intellectuals from the Young Ottomans movement, such as Namık Kemal, İbrahim Şinasi, Ali Suavi, Ebuzziya Tevfik and Ziya Gökalp participated in these discussions and controversies in the newspapers which were previously mentioned in the socio-political background section.

In 1869, Namık Kemal involved in the several debates on the script issues in *Hürriyet* newspaper. Although he was criticizing the complexity of the Arabic script, he did not support the adoption of the Latin script (Şimşir, 1992). Within the same year, İbrahim Şinasi another Young Ottoman intellectual, worked on reducing the number of characters that were used in printing in Arabic script. In following years, he successfully completed his studies and reduced the number of characters from approximately 500 to 110. Moreover, he published the second edition of his own books with this new letters (Şimşir, 1992). During the same period, Ali Suavi published an article entitled "*Lisan ve Hatt-ı Türki*" (Language and Edict of Turkish) in the *Ulium* newspaper, which was being published in Paris. In this article, while he was supporting the Arabic Script, he noted the need for dealing with the shortcomings of the Arabic script. Like Şinasi, he never considered the option of replacing the Arabic script with the Latin script (Berkes, 2002).

In this context, inadequacy of Arabic script to represent Turkish language accurately, the long and difficult learning process and the difficulties on printing process could be summarized as the problematic aspects of the Arabic script. During the *Tanzimat* period, some scholars defended the reformation of the Arabic script, assuming that it would positively affect the processes of catching up with the Western civilisations, improving educational system, and increasing the literacy rate. On the contrary, some scholars argued that reforms to the educational system would be enough to achieve these goals, and they considered abandoning the Arabic script as a wrong approach as they thought that it would lead to a break from the cultural and historical roots of the society and would be disrespectful to their religion (Şimşir, 1992). By taking these approaches into consideration, we can say that the intellectuals, writers and bureaucrats of *Tanzimat* period intended a reform more than a revolution. During the reign of

Abdülhamit II, these discussions declined and the scholars focused on reformation of the educational system more than the reformation of the Arabic script.

### 3.2.2 Second Constitutional Period

In the early years of the Second Constitutional period, which followed the end of the Abdülhamit II's autocracy, there was a democratic environment for the debates and proposals (Ülkütaşır, 1973). Throughout this period, intellectuals, bureaucrats and writers had an opportunity to express their opinions about the script discussion and the educational system (Zürcher, 1993). In this period, debates and proposals brought the adoption of the Latin script into question, in addition to the reformation ideas. Among the reformists, two major ideas were discussed, the addition of new letters to express the vowels in written Turkish, and writing letters in detached manner. While the reformists were endeavouring to solve the problems of the Arabic script, other intellectuals such as Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Abdullah Cevdet and Celal Nuri were advocating the adoption of the Latin script.

At the beginning of the Second Constitutional period, several formal and informal attempts were made to establish commissions and societies. The first formal attempt was made by the Ministry of Education in 1909 and resulted in the founding of the *İmla Komisyonu* (Commission for Orthography), with the aim to conduct research on the reformation of the Arabic script. Afterwards, under the leadership of the Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, *Islah-ı Huruf Cemiyeti* (Society for the Reformation of the Script) was established in 1911, with the purpose of “bringing the Arabic script to perfection by modifying and reforming it” (Sadoğlu 2003, p.220). Another important attempt was the founding of the *Islah-ı Huruf Encümeni* (Council for the Reformation of the Script) in 1912 which examined the writing of the Arabic script with disjointed letters. One of the members of this council, Milaslı İsmail Hakkı Bey developed a writing system for the Arabic script based on this study (Ülkütaşır, 1973).

Meanwhile, intellectuals like Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Abdullah Cevdet and Celal Nuri published articles that advocating the adoption of the Latin script. In 1910, when the Albanians of Tirana expressed their desire to adopt the Latin script, the debates

increased and their desire became a concrete example for the Ottoman intellectuals who were also advocating this view. One of these intellectuals, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın wrote an article<sup>8</sup> in the *Tanin* newspaper which supporting the Albanian script reform (Ülkütaşır, 1973).

In 1913, Enver Pasha used his authority to put into practice the usage of a reformed version of the Arabic script in the army. The new script was known by several names including *Hatt-ı Cedid* (New Writing), *ordu elifbası* (army script) and *Enverpaşa Yazısı* (The Script of Enver Pasha). (Figure.4) It was used at the Ministry of War nearly two years during the wartime (the First World War). In this writing system, the each character was written in detached manner, and the Arabic vowels were also written individually with the eight different diacritics that represented all vowel sounds of Turkish. However, this attempt failed because it was too obscure for the soldiers and officials in the army (Lewis, 1999).

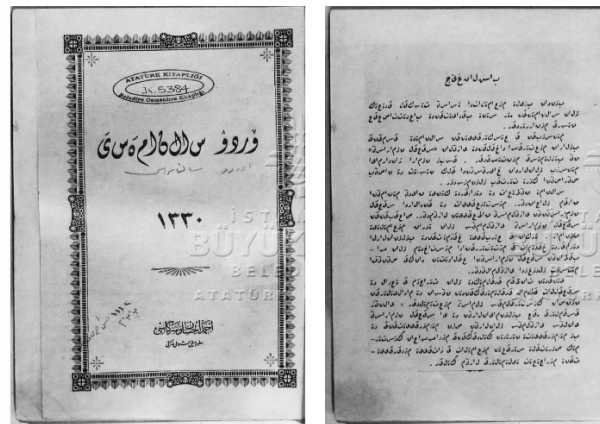


Figure 4. The *Salname* (annual), which is printed with the script of Enver Pasha

During the First World War and the War of Independence, revolutionary regimes in Russia and Turkey began to emerge. This condition created the corresponding ambience, wherein reforms in many field were demanded in the light of the Script Reform. In 1918, with the adoption of the Latin script by the Yakut Turks, it became evident that the reform was inevitable and that sooner or later these changes would be made. In this period, the Script Reform continued to spread rapidly in Turkish countries.

<sup>8</sup> The article wrote by Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın entitled “*Arnavut Hurufatı*” (Albanian Script), and published on January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1910.

On September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1922, Ottoman Empire was liberated from the invading Greek armies. Immediately after this triumph, a group of newspaper representatives, including Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, asked Atatürk about his opinions on the Script Reform where Atatürk responded negatively by saying that the time for reform had not come yet. Then Atatürk conveyed this dialogue to Falih Rıfkı Atay, as “Hüseyin Cahit wanted me to get an untimely work, the time has not come yet to the Script Reform" (Ülkütaşır 1973, p.42). With this explanation Atatürk clearly stated that the reason for his opposition was not due to an objection to the subject but rather due to wrong timing.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, at the age of twenty-five, had told the Bulgarian Turkologist Ivan Manolof that “We should leave the Arabic Script which is an obstacle to enter the Western civilisation, our clothes and many other things should be changed to keep up with the West” then he continues; “be sure that all will change when the time comes” (Özerdim, 1962).

### **3.2.3 Republican Period**

The controversies on the script issues did not diminish after the declaration of the Republic; on the contrary the dominance of the revolutionary approach in Turkey scaled up the views on the adoption of the Latin script (Şimşir, 1992).

Ali Nazmi, one of the worker’s representatives gave a proposal about the adoption of the Latin script at the *Milli İktisat Kongresi* (National Congress of Economics) on February 21<sup>st</sup>, 1923. Many participants, especially the president of the congress Kazım Karabekir Pasha argued against this proposal and declined it. He stated that leaving the Arabic script is out of question and such a situation would create a terrible catastrophe. Soon after, he criticized sharply those who advocate the adoption of the Latin script, in his article entitled “*Latin Harflerini Kabul Edemeyiz*” (We cannot take the Latin script) which was published in the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper (Ülkütaşır, 1973).

Later, Kılıçzade Hakkı and Hüseyin Cahit who were the advocate of the Latin script, continued to write articles. They were considering the adoption of the Latin script as the right and necessary move, unlike Kazım Karabekir (Şimşir, 2002). On August 26<sup>th</sup>,

1923, while the debates were going on; a draft of law entitled *Türkçe Kanunu* (The Turkish Law) was presented by Tunalı Hilmi Bey in the Turkish Grand National Assembly and it was rejected.

After a year, on February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1924, Şükrü Saraçoğlu<sup>9</sup> asked the opinions of Vasfi Çınar<sup>10</sup> on the Latin script discussions during the National Education budget negotiations in the National Assembly, but could get any response. One year later, in February 1925, the same question was directed to Saraçoğlu when he became the Minister of Education and he preferred not to express his opinion and stated that fuelling the discussions would not be beneficial for our nation.

Early in 1925, the reactionary rebellions of Sheikh Said, which started in the East, and initiatives aimed at threatening the republic. Consequently, the script debates were suppressed even more than the Abdülhamit II's reign. Hüseyin Cahit, one of the people who played an important role in the discussions, was sent to exile. In the second half of 1925, the attention of the public was drawn to new reforms initiated by *Şapka Kanunu* (Hat Law) and the banning of *tarikats* (religious brotherhoods), while the debates on the Script Reform were temporarily left into the background. These new reforms first seemed unrelated with the Script Reform but in fact they slowly paved the way for this important change in society (Lewis, 1999).

After a while, the script debates started again at full speed with the survey named "*Latin harflerini kabul etmeli mi, etmemeli mi?*" (Should we adopt Latin script or not?).<sup>11</sup> Many writers and scientists such as Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil and Ali Canip Yöntem got involved in the discussions by means of this survey (Ülkütaşır, 1981). After a long silence during all these discussions, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk finally asked to the Ministry of National Education on June 1927 to make arrangements for the adoption of the Latin script. With the arrival of August, deputy parliament speaker Hasan Bey made the case in parliament that the removal of the Arabic script was a required step (Şimşir, 1992). Once these signs of the Script Reform were given and the government initiated the process, even Ismet Pasha, who had an abstaining and nervous attitude about the Script Reform accepted and became involved in the process.

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<sup>9</sup> Şükrü Saraçoğlu (1887-1953): The deputy for İzmir in the second National Assembly in 1923.

<sup>10</sup> Vasfi Çınar (1896-1935): The Minister of National Education of the Turkish Republic, between the dates March 8<sup>th</sup>, 1924 and November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1924.

<sup>11</sup> This survey was published in the *Akşam* newspaper on March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1926.

### 3.3 The Adoption of the Latin Script

After a long silence during all these discussions, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk finally asked the Ministry of National Education in June 1927 to make arrangements for the adoption of the Latin script. With the arrival of August, deputy parliament speaker Hasan Bey made the case in parliament that the removal of the Arabic script was a required step (Şimşir, 1992). Once these signs of the Script Reform were given and the government initiated the process, even İsmet Pasha, who had an abstaining and nervous attitude about the Script Reform accepted and became involved in the process.

In the early 1928, the government decided that the nation would adopt the Latin script and start to study on the adoption process. An important step was then taken on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1928, and the *Beynelminel Erkamın kabulü Hakkında Kanun* (Law on the Adoption of the International Numbers) was accepted. At the same parliamentary meeting, the *Dil Encümeni* (Language Council) was established to determine the new script and language rules for the New Turkish Script. The council was announced on June 10<sup>th</sup>, in the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (National Sovereignty) newspaper.

This council was divided into two sub-councils straight away to work on the alphabet and grammar separately (Lewis, 1999). In June 26<sup>th</sup>, 1928, at the first meeting under the direction of Atatürk, the Alphabet Council began to work intensively for the adoption of the Latin script. After the meeting, Atatürk went to Istanbul and continued to support their activities from there. After making the final arrangements, he personally started to use the New Turkish Script officially for the first time (Özerdim, 1998).

Once the New Turkish Script was ready, he "introduced it to the vast crowds attending a Republican People's Party gala in *Gülhane* Park on the evening of August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1928" (Lewis 1999, p.34-36). With this speech, he announced the Script Reform and declared the adoption of the Latin script. Addressing the public for the first time on this subject, Atatürk read some part of his notes that had written with the new script. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk expressed his determination about the adoption of the Latin script with a great enthusiasm and sincerity during his speech. Moreover, at the same moment he was writing with the new script to encourage the public (Özerdim, 1998). After that night, "Campaign for the New Script" began throughout the whole country. (Figure.5) The

newspapers introduced the speech and the reform with the big headlines and started campaigns. On the initiative of the Republican People's Party, newspapers and institutions began to promote the reform all over the country.



Figure 5. Education in National Schools ( *La Turquie Kemaliste* , December, 1940)

Instructions on the New Turkish Script began to be given to the ministers and the guests who arrived at the *Dolmabahçe* Palace. Writers such as Yunus Nadi, Falih Rıfkı Atay and Celal Nuri İleri wrote articles on the Turkish Script Reform in their columns. On August 16<sup>th</sup>, the Alphabet Council published an announcement and indicated that the New Turkish Script would be published within a few days. In the following days, the tram company changed the tickets, signs and schedules in which the company used with those made with the New Turkish Script.

The municipalities began exchanging their correspondence using the New Turkish Script. New writing courses were opened in the government offices and the Tobacco Monopoly Authority and Istanbul University organized conferences to inform society about the reform and its processes. While the Campaign for the New Script was taking place at full speed, Atatürk took a decision to convene the *Dolmabahçe* Congress on August 25<sup>th</sup>. The Congress was organized to teach the new script to the municipalities, journalists, ministers and public officials, and to test them before their public duty. In the last session of the Congress on August 29<sup>th</sup>, approximately 200 participants

approved the Script Reform and the New Turkish Script, which was prepared by the Language Council.

### 3.4 Legislation and Early Practices

Thanks to the Dolmabahçe Congress, the Language Council and the New Turkish Script proved themselves to the leading names of ministers, municipals, members of parliament and journalists and the next step was a vote in parliament. Meanwhile, Atatürk began the nationwide tour starting from *Tekirdağ*<sup>12</sup>. He visited several cities, observed the reactions to the New Turkish Script and sometimes gave lessons himself.

The New Turkish Script, spread with an incredible pace in a short period of two months and embraced by the public. On November 1<sup>st</sup>, the "New Turkish Script Law" was accepted with the votes of the majority. According to the law, press government offices and private institutions were given time to complete the transition to the new script until January 1<sup>st</sup> 1929, and they had time to rewrite existing documents and notebooks until June. However, the newspapers and magazines had time until December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928.

The Language Council played a significant role during the Campaign for the New Script. In addition to informing the public in this process, the Council worked hard to determine the orthographic rules for the New Turkish Script, and also published several books including *İmla Lügati* (Dictionary of Turkish Orthography) and the *Muhtasar Türkçe Gramer* (Concise Turkish Grammar).

The date of December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928, would be a milestone for the newspapers and magazines. Since the *Gülhane Söylevi* (Gülhane Speech), the Turkish press, which had began to print with the New Turkish Script in part, would publish with the new script only from this date. For instance, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, put the New Turkish Script into practice without waiting for the statutory period. The six major newspapers in Istanbul preferred to wait until the time indicated in the law because they were concerned about

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<sup>12</sup> A city in the thrace region.



the reaction of their readers. They took advantage of the transition period by replacing the Arabic script with the New Turkish Script gradually.

On December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928, the Turkish Press left the Arabic script behind with enthusiastic titles such as "*Yaşasın İnkılâp*" (Long Live Reform) in *Milliyet* newspaper and "*Türk Matbuat Hayatında Tarihi Bir Gün: 1 Kanunuevel 1928*" (A Historical Day) in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper and celebrated the New Turkish Script (Şimşir, 1992). (Figure 6- 7)



Figure 6. The first page of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper (December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928)



Figure 7. The first page of the *Milliyet* newspaper (December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928)

Unfortunately this excitement would not last very long. The journalists who were excited about the campaign were shocked by the decline in circulation during the first week of the transition to the New Turkish Script. The circulation of newspapers in Istanbul for the six-day period was dropped by 35-50%. (Akçura, 2002) In order to support the press in this difficult process, the government explained that it would provide some assistance to these organizations. By late 1929, the transition period was completed substantially and the New Turkish Script was being used in all the institutions of the government, from schools to banks.

## **4. RESEARCH AND CASE STUDY**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This research and case study aims to investigate the early typographic practices after the Script Reform in Turkey, and is mainly focuses on the typographic preferences, which were applied during the transition period. A periodical medium, *Cumhuriyet* newspaper is chosen as the research material to conduct a sound analysis. The research methods, data collection process, the findings of this research and case study will be presented and evaluated in the following sections of this chapter.

### **4.2 Method**

The research for this thesis was conducted using quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative part is comprised of the development of a data form and the collection of the source material – that is, the issues of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. They were obtained through the online archive of Atatürk Library and the private archive of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. The data, in this case, consisted of the typographic attributes of the first practices of the Latin script gathered in a data form. This technique is chosen to present and provide a sound basis for further research and studies. The main purpose of the data form is to demonstrate typographic preferences and patterns. In the next step,

the collected data was analyzed and interpreted. This combination of methods was chosen to enable the formation of a coherent and justifiable basis for this thesis.

This case study focuses on the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper during the transition period to the New Turkish script. The formal transition period for the newspapers was between November 3<sup>rd</sup> and December 1<sup>st</sup> 1928 which was defined by the New Turkish Script Law. However, the informal transition for the newspapers and magazines began in mid-1928. By taking these dates into consideration, the time period for this study has been set between the August 1928 and December 1928. This time span thus includes both the formal and informal transition period. Starting from the August 1<sup>st</sup> 1928, the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper was collected and analyzed in weekly intervals until the December 5<sup>th</sup> 1928<sup>13</sup>. The issue of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper which was published on December 5<sup>th</sup> 1928, did not included in data form thus it has completely different typographic preferences than transition period. This issue used to present the change in general terms.

While choosing source material for this case study – that is the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, several criteria were employed. The first criterion was the audience. *Cumhuriyet* was the best-selling newspaper during the transition period, and this means that it reached the widest audience at that time. The second criterion was continuity; *Cumhuriyet* newspaper was published uninterruptedly during the transition period. Besides these criteria, the accessibility was another important metric by which *Cumhuriyet* was chosen; all of the issues of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper needed to complete this study were accessible both online and offline.

### 4.3 Analysis and Case Study

In this section, the transformation to Latin script was analysed via *Cumhuriyet* newspaper and the findings were presented and interpreted. In layout analysis section, the layout system of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper is examined and the observations

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<sup>13</sup> According to the law the newspapers began to be published with the Latin script after December 1<sup>st</sup> 1928. However, on this research December 5<sup>th</sup> was analysed, as the consequence of weekly collection of newspaper.

regarding their changes during the transition period will be presented. This section will be followed by a typographic analysis, in which the numbers obtained from the data form will be presented and the findings evaluated in order to understand the typographic preferences of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper during the transition period to the new script.

#### 4.3.1 Layout Analysis

The grid system, the number and width of columns are determinative for the appearance of a newspaper and the readability of its content. These are very basic attributes for a newspaper. Although the main concern of this thesis is in analysing typographic practices, nevertheless a basic understanding of these principles is crucial for any study of the layout of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper.

*Cumhuriyet* newspaper had the dimensions of a broadsheet format and the dimensions of the newspaper were 425 millimetres width and 585 millimetres height. For the layout of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, a six-column grid system was chosen. Along with *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, the six-column grid system was used by the other Turkish newspapers such as *İkdam* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (Figure.8). The column width was around sixty-seven millimetres but these proportions did differ slightly. During the transition period, a change in the column width was expected due to the structural differences between the Latin script and the Arabic script. However, throughout this period, no significant change was observed in the grid system of the *Cumhuriyet*. The page numbers were located at the top of the pages.



Figure 8. Left, *Cumhuriyet* newspaper (August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928) – Middle, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928) – On right, *İkdam* (August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1928)

#### 4.3.2 Typographic Analysis

By means of the data obtained with the data form, it is possible to talk about the ratio of the place of use, the diversity of the type preferences, distribution and density of the content with Latin script. (See the Appendix F) According to the collected data, the new script was used in 264 different content during the selected time period. While some of these contents consisted only of one title, sometimes they comprised of a complete column. By taking these findings into consideration, this can be said, during the transition period the Latin script were practiced in 264 different content of total 1350 (approximate number which was not included the advertisements) content of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. In addition to that, during the transition period the Latin script was used mostly in titles of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. The titles with the Latin script comprised approximately 57% of the total content (referring to the content with the Latin script, not all of the content of the newspaper). The ratio of the running text was 28%, while the ratio of subtitles were approximately 12,5%. Finally, around 2,5% of the content were headlines and captions.

The research revealed that the typefaces that used until the December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928 on *Cumhuriyet* newspaper were mostly similar which were used in the *La Republique* newspaper. (Figure 9) *La Republique* was the French version of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, which began to be published in 1925. According to the findings this might be assumed, during the transition period existing typefaces of the *La Republique* were used to print *Cumhuriyet* newspaper.



Figure 9. Some of the matching typeface examples from *La Republique* and *Cumhuriyet* newspaper

The titles written in the Latin script were generally printed in similar point sizes to the titles written in Arabic script and two different typefaces (typeface.1 and typeface.2 / Figure 10 - 11) were the most frequently preferred typefaces for the titles during the transition period.



Figure 10. Examples of typeface 1 from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper

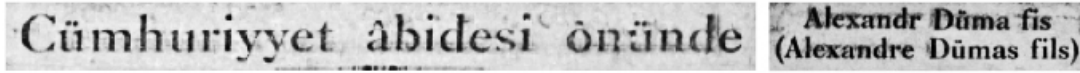


Figure 11. Examples of typeface 2 from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper

The titles were mostly centred to the column and arranged in sentence case. The other typefaces frequently used in titles and subtitles were the sans serif typefaces; typeface 5 and typeface 6. According to the findings, typeface 5 is might be Breite Halbfette Grotesk from Shelter & Giesecke<sup>14</sup> type foundry. (Figure 12-13)

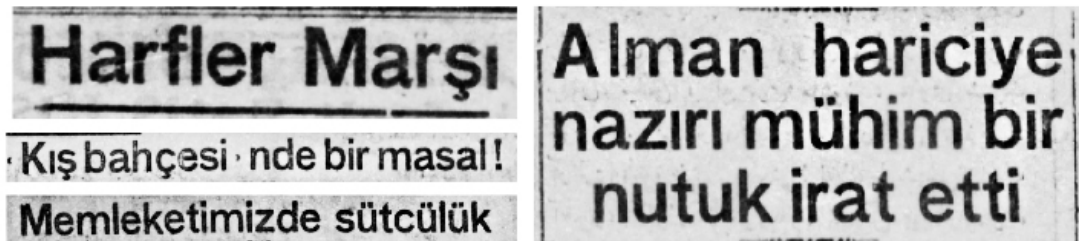


Figure 12. Examples of typeface 5 from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper

<sup>14</sup> Schelter & Giesecke was a German type foundry and printing press manufacturer which founded in 1819, Leipzig. The owners of this type foundry were punch cutter Johann Schelter and type founder Christian Giesecke.

No. 6030. 4 Cicero (48 Punkte) mit Ziffern. 10 a 6 A — 1/2 Satz ca. 15,5 kg.

# Meisterbrief

No. 6025. Tertia (16 Punkte). \* 40 a 16 A — 1/2 Satz ca. 6,2 kg.

## Vegetation und Tierleben in Norwegen 2 NATURGESCHICHTE 3

No. 6031. 5 Cicero (60 Punkte) mit Ziffern. 10 a 6 A — 1/2 Satz ca. 24 kg.

# Ornamente

No. 6023. Cicero (12 Punkte). \* 60 a 24 A — 1/2 Satz ca. 5 kg.

## Humoristische Reiseskizze 4 DICHTUNGEN 5

No. 6024. Mittel (14 Punkte). \* 52 a 22 A — 1/2 Satz ca. 5,8 kg.

## Columbian Exposition 6 BERICHTE 7

No. 6032. 6 Cicero (72 Punkte) mit Ziffern. 8 a 4 A — 1/2 Satz ca. 23 kg.

# Nachruf

No. 6026. Text (20 Punkte). \* 30 a 12 A — 1/2 Satz ca. 7 kg.

## Erlebnisse berühmter Seefahrer 8 MEERESGRUND 9

HHHHHHHHHH

Der Guss dieser Schriften ist auf  
systematische Unterlegbarkeit aller Grade  
untereinander berechnet.

Figure 13. Breite Halbfette Grotesk typeface of Shelter & Giesecke type foundry

Typeface 6 is also a Grotesk sans serif typeface like typeface 5, but it is more condensed and bold than typeface 5. (Figure 14) The findings shows that, typeface 6 might be Grotesk 110 P, Halbfette of Berthold type foundry. (Figure 15)

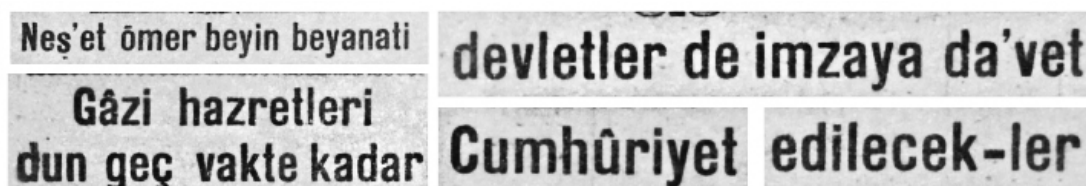


Figure 14. Examples of typeface 6 from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper

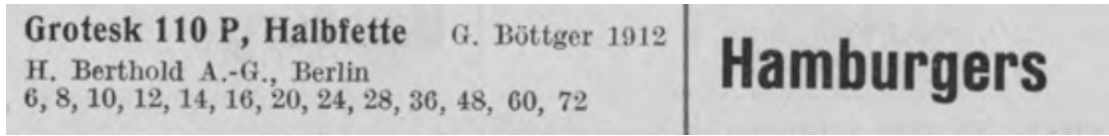


Figure 15. Grotesk 110 P, Halbfette typeface of Berthold type foundry

On the other hand, the body texts were set with a serif typeface (typeface 4 / Figure 16). However there were some exceptions, such as the column entitled *Benim Kiraatim* (My Reading). This new column was added to the newspaper on September 26<sup>th</sup> 1928. Unlike the other columns, the body text of *Benim Kiraatim* was printed in a larger point size and set with a sans serif typeface. (typeface 3 / Figure 17). Beside this exception, the typeface 3 was one of the most preferred typefaces for the titles during the transition period. According to the findings, this sans serif typeface was Mediäval-Steinschrift which was produced by the German type foundry J.G. Schelter & Giesecke (Figure 18)

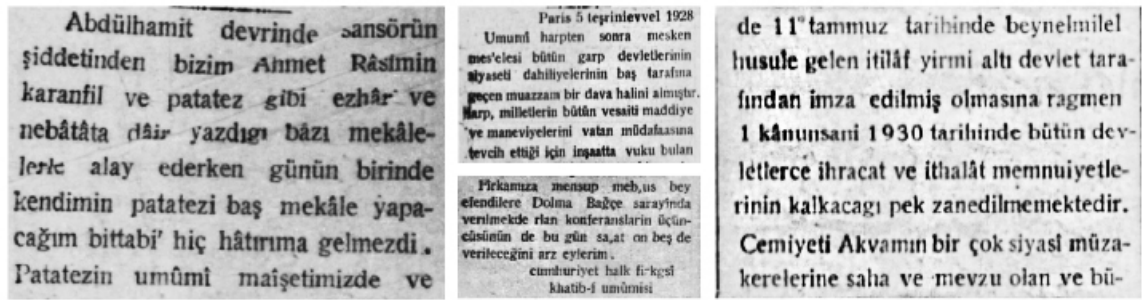


Figure 16. Examples of typeface 4 from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper

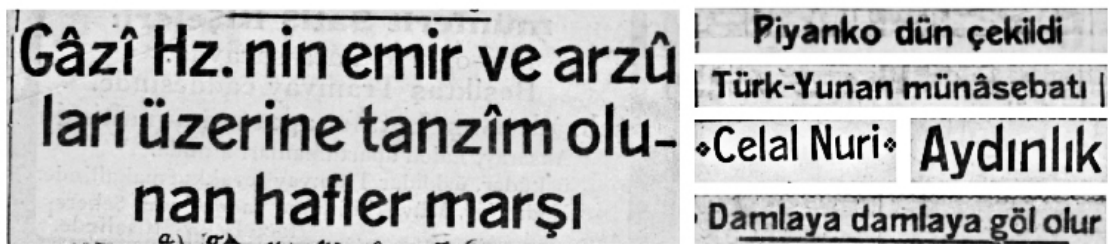


Figure 17. Examples of typeface 3 from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper



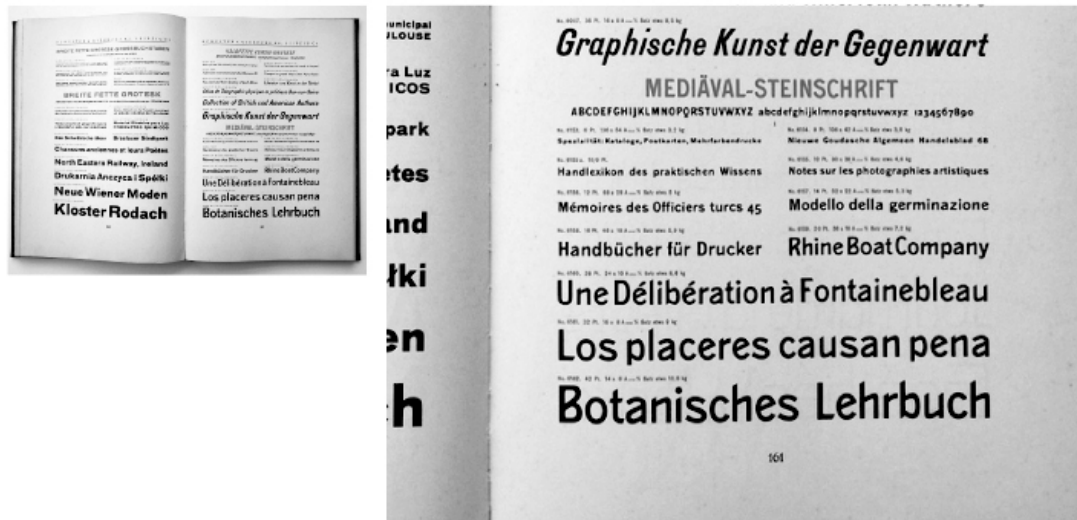


Figure 18. Mediäval-Steinschrift typeface

The density of the content, which was set with the Latin script, varies from week to week atypically. On the first three issues of the August (August 1<sup>st</sup>- 8<sup>th</sup>- 15<sup>th</sup> 1928) run of the paper, very few instances of new script were seen in *Cumhuriyet*. However, by August 22<sup>nd</sup> 1928, the use of Latin script was increased and it began to be used both for the title and body text of the newspaper for the first time. On August 29<sup>th</sup> 1928, the amount of content set with the Latin script was increased once more, especially on the first page of newspaper. By September 1928, alongside the use of the Latin script on the first page, came to appear in other parts of the paper, such as in the columns *Meşhur İnsanlar* (Famous People) and *Küçük Şehir Haberleri* (News of Little City). On September 19<sup>th</sup>, the *Büyük Tayyare Piyankosu* (Great Aeroplane Lottery) began to be published with the new script and soon later, on September 26<sup>th</sup> 1928 a new column named “*Benim Kıraatim*” was added to the newspaper, which was also completely prepared with the Latin script. Despite these new columns, the density of the Latin script in *Cumhuriyet* was declined during the following two weeks.

However, on September 29<sup>th</sup> 1928, a significant alteration was made to *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. While the first page set with Arabic script, a new cover page was created for the end of the newspaper with Latin script. This page had a new logo and masthead with Latin script from this time forward. On this new page, a column and a selection of the other content of the newspaper transcribed into the Latin script, were included. Similar utilizations were previously preferred for the bilingual publications (i.e. French and Ottoman Turkish) in Ottoman press. Different reading ways of the Arabic script and

Latin script were made this utilization practical for both the publishers and readers. Until November 1928, the content written in Latin script steadily decreased, and there were only a few continuous columns such as *Küçük Şehir Haberleri*. In November, the amount of content increased again. Especially in the first week of November, which was just after the legislation of the New Turkish Script, the most intense use of the Latin script during the transition period was observed. By the December 1<sup>st</sup> 1928, the transition period was officially ended and the newspaper began to be published completely with the Latin script. The masthead and the logotype were changed.

In December, a maximum of four typefaces were preferred for the headline, titles and subtitles on the first page of the newspaper, and three typefaces for the running text. As a consequence of the investigation mentioned in the previous section, three of these typefaces could be identified. This investigation revealed that one typeface, which was used frequently for the headline, titles and subtitles, was one of the typefaces of the Wagner & Schmidt type foundry (Figure 19). This typeface had different names at different local foundries, but it was manufactured originally by Wagner & Schmidt Leipzig. As a visual reference, the specimen of the Nebiolo type foundry helped in identifying this typeface (Figure 20). The Cairoli typeface is similar to Wagner & Schmidt's version, which was produced by the Nebiolo type foundry in Turin, 1910. It is a bold sans serif typeface, which has different weights and point sizes. The regular weight has 6, 8, 10, 12, 16, 20, 24 and 36 point sizes; the italic weight has 36 point size; the light weight has 6 point size; and the expanded weight has 6, 8, 12, 16 and 24 point sizes.

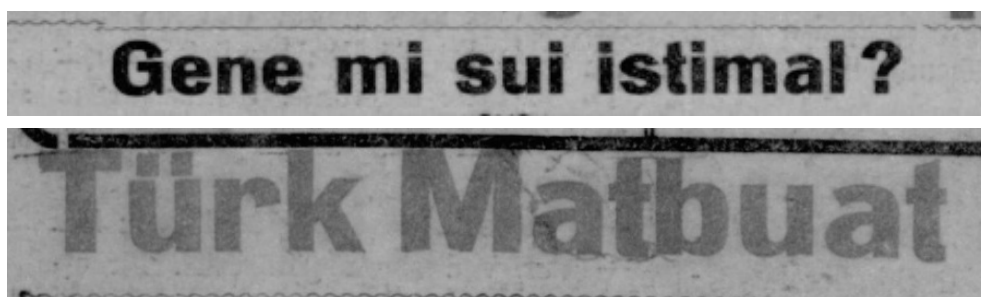


Figure 19. Example of Cairoli Typeface from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper

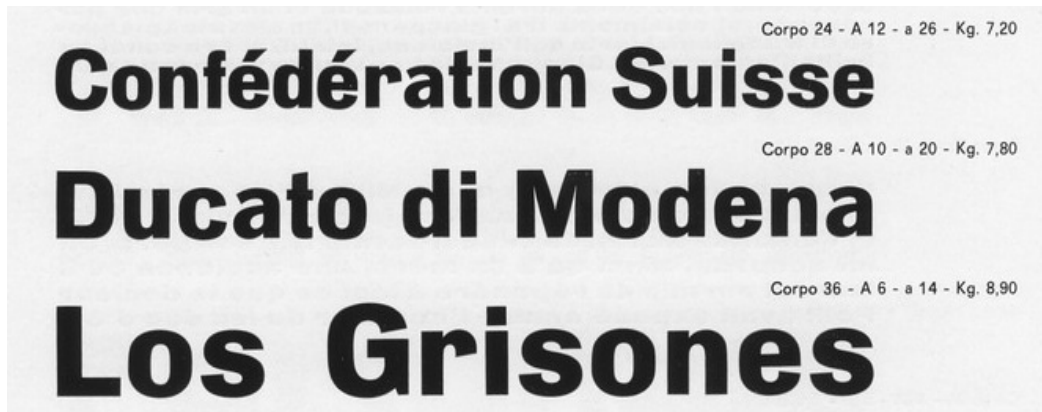


Figure 20. Cairoli Typeface / Nebiolo Type Foundry

Industria Gravur was another typeface which was identified during the investigations. (Figure 21, 22). This typeface was preferred only for the titles. It was an inline style of the sans serif typeface which was designed by Hermann Zehnpfundt for the Gursch type foundry in 1910 with two weights. After 1917, when the Berthold type foundry acquired Gursch, it added an inline Gravur in 1920, which was the style used in the newspaper.



Figure 21. Example of Industria Gravur from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper



Figure 22. Industria Gravur Typeface

The other typeface could not be matched exactly, but Elzevir and Romanish typefaces had very similar characteristics with the one used in the newspaper (Figure 23, 24). Several type foundries produced these typefaces at that time. For instance, Elzevir was produced first by the Gursch foundry in the early 1900s, and later the Berthold type foundry produced it in 1926.



Figure 23. Example of Romanish typeface from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper

It is assumed that these typefaces and the others used in the running text might have been bought from Germany like the Linotype typesetting machine or from the suppliers in Turkey such as *Burla* Brothers. The second presumption seems more possible due to the newspaper advertisements published in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper (Figure 14). The advertisements show that *Burla* Brothers were the dealer of the Berthold type foundry (Figure 25). By taking these findings into consideration, it might be assumed that this type foundry produced some of typefaces used in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. Although there is no document about these typefaces such as the purchasing transaction or a purchase order, this presumption is more reliable than the first one.



Figure 24. Romanish Typeface



Figure 25. *Burla* Brothers advertisement

### 4.3.3 Case Study

The continuously published contents (column, masthead, announcement) on the transition period, made possible to observe and analyse the typeface replacements. Four different types of content, which published continuously during the transition period, were chosen to make this investigation; *Meşhur İnsanlar* (Famous People), *Büyük Tayyare Piyankosu* (Great Aeroplane Lottery), the masthead and the main article of newspaper.

The first analysed case is the column named *Meşhur İnsanlar* (Famous People). This column was giving brief information about the famous people and it was published on the fourth page of the newspaper. (Figure 26 – See Appendix B) On August 1<sup>st</sup>, the title of this column was prepared and printed from metal plate. While the first subtitle and body text were printed with the 12 point size naskh, which is a text style of Arabic script mostly preferred for the small point sized texts. The second subtitle was set in Latin script with smaller point size approximately 10 point size.



Figure 26. The transformation of the “*Meşhur İnsanlar*” column  
(Left to right; August 1<sup>st</sup>, August 22<sup>nd</sup>, September 5<sup>th</sup>, November 21<sup>st</sup> 1928)

The next column was published on August 22<sup>nd</sup>. This time, the subtitles and body text were replaced with the Latin script, while the department logo was preserved. The subtitles and body text were set with a serif typeface (typeface 2 / Figure 27). The point





On the last two column published during the transition period (on November 7<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup>), the first subtitle was set with a sans serif typeface (typeface 3 / Figure 29), the second subtitle was set with serif typeface which was smaller than the point size of body text (10 point size). Finally this can be said, the increase in the leading of the body text made the column more readable during the transition.

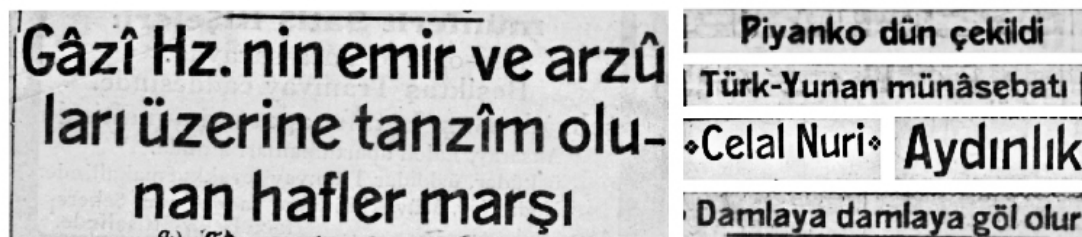


Figure 29. Example of typeface 3 from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper

The second analysed case was the announcement titled “*Büyük Tayyare Piyankosu*” (Figure 30 - See Appendix C). This announcement was published during and after the transition period. On August 1<sup>st</sup>, it was printed completely with Arabic script. The title of this content was set with the 36 point size naskh, which was replaced with the same point sized serif typeface (typeface 1) on September 19<sup>th</sup> and both versions center-aligned to the frame. The subtitles were set 24 point size naskh in the Arabic version and a subtitle placed on the right of the body text was set with rik’a<sup>16</sup> until September 19<sup>th</sup>. Then these subtitles were replaced with the same point-sized serif typeface (typeface.1 and typeface 8 / Figure 31).



Figure 30. The transformation of the *Büyük Tayyare Piyankosu* announcement  
(Left to right; August 29<sup>st</sup>, September 19<sup>th</sup> 1928)

<sup>16</sup> A text style for the Arabic script, it has more irregular form than naskh.

The body text of this announcement was set with 10 point sized naskh and replaced with the 10 point sized serif typeface (typeface 4 / Figure 32). However, on December 5<sup>th</sup>, the typefaces and typographic hierarchy was changed. The title of this announcement began to be written with 24 point size italic serif typeface. The subtitle and the body text became smaller.

## Büyük ikramiye 50,000 Lira-dir münferit Satış Kişeleri:

Figure 31. Example of typeface 8 from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper

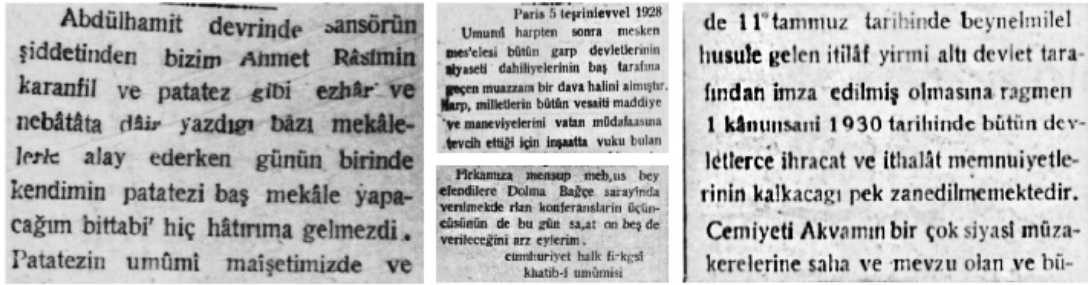


Figure 32. Example of typeface 4 from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper

The third case was the masthead of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. (See the Appendix D) The masthead was published with the Arabic script until the August 22<sup>nd</sup>. On this date, only the title of the right masthead was replaced with the Latin script. For this replacement, a serif typeface was preferred (typeface 1). The serif typeface was used 24 point sized which is exaggerated in comparison to the Arabic version. A week later, the titles of both sides of the masthead were set with the Latin Script, the same typeface and point size were used with the previous one. (typeface 1)

By September 29<sup>th</sup><sup>17</sup>, the masthead located on the first page was changed into Arabic script, while the new masthead was added to the end of the newspaper. This page was set completely with Latin script. (Figure 33) On this issue, the titles were replaced with a sans serif typeface (typeface 3) and the body texts were replaced with approximately 12 point size serif typeface. The point size of the body texts also was exaggerated in comparison with the Arabic version. However, on October 3<sup>rd</sup>, it seems that the

<sup>17</sup> From this date on, the masthead of the new page was considered as the material for this case.



typesetters tried to play with typographic parameters. For instance, the title was divided into two pieces as “Baş Muharrir” (Lead Author), “Yunus Nadi” and different typographic parameters were applied on them. While “Baş Muharrir” was set with a serif typeface, “Yunus Nadi” was set with sans serif typeface (typeface 3). (Figure 34) This typographic structure was preserved until the end of the transition period. By the December 5<sup>th</sup>, the masthead and the logo were changed in terms of the typefaces and typographic parameters. This can be said that the texts were set with a serif typeface with two different weights, regular and bold. The point sizes were reduced overall, by comparison with the point sizes used during the transition period.



Figure 33. The transformation of the logo and masthead of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper



Figure 34. Part of the masthead of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper - Left side of the logo  
(Left to right; November 29<sup>th</sup>, October 3<sup>rd</sup> 1928)

The last analysis made on the main article of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, which was located on the right top of the first page (Figure 35 – See the Appendix E). During the first three weeks of August, this column continued to be set with the Arabic script. The title of this article was the 36 point size naskh, which was carried certain thuluth<sup>18</sup> features. In other words, a different style display naskh was used on this center-aligned title. The body text on the other hand, was set with the 10 point size naskh. By the August 29<sup>th</sup>, the title was set with the 36 point size serif font (typeface 1) which arranged all caps and centered to the column; however, the body text was still set with Arabic script. The similar preferences were applied on September 5<sup>th</sup>; the only difference was the title which set in sentence case. On September 12<sup>th</sup>, this column was published with the same typographic preferences. By the September 29<sup>th</sup>, it has begun to be published again in Arabic script thus another article was published with Latin script on the last page. However, instead of using a new article with Latin script on the last page, they preferred to use the Latin version of the main article which was entitled “*Patates Ziraati*” (Potato Cultivation). (See the Appendix E) The title of this article was set with the 36 point sized serif typeface (typeface 1) and the body text was set with 10 point sized serif typeface (typeface 4). This practice was continued until December. By the December 5<sup>th</sup>, the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper published with the Latin script since the transition period was over according to the law.



Figure 35. The transformation of the main article of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper  
(Left to right; August 1<sup>st</sup>, August 29<sup>th</sup>, October 3<sup>rd</sup> 1928)

<sup>18</sup> Thuluth is a variety of the Islamic Calligraphy which has curved form and oblique lines.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to investigate the early typographic practices after the Script reform and it mainly focuses on the typographic transformation. In order to understand this transformation, the Script Reform is best studied from a wide historical perspective. Through this perspective, a research and case study was conducted focusing on *Cumhuriyet* newspaper to collect data about typographic preferences during the transition to the new script. The findings of this study were analysed to observe the diversity, distribution and typographic arrangements of the New Turkish Script after the Script reform.

The Turkish Script Reform was a milestone for the Turkish language and society. Although the legislation and practice of the Script reform was accomplished in a short period of time, the socio-political background of the reform was dating back to *Tanzimat* period. The modern educational policies of the *Tanzimat* created awareness about the issues on the Arabic script, such as difficult learning and teaching process. Beside the socio-political and educational issues, the technical complexity of using the Arabic script was another significant problem underlying the reformation process. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the reformation of the Arabic script became a contemporary issue among the Ottoman intellectuals, bureaucrats and writers. During this period, newspapers had a substantial impact since they became a forum for the debates on the script reform. Writers and intellectuals declared and discussed their opinions about the reformation of the Arabic script and the adoption of the Latin script through newspapers.

By the August 9<sup>th</sup> 1928, the Script reform was declared with the *Gülhane* Speech, and the New Turkish Script spread with an incredible pace in a short period of two months and embraced by the public. On November 1<sup>st</sup> 1928, the "New Turkish Script Law" was accepted with the votes of the majority. According to the law, press government offices and private institutions were given time to complete the transition to the new script until January 1<sup>st</sup> 1929. However, the newspapers and magazines had time until December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928. Throughout the transition period, which began with the *Gülhane* Speech, newspapers became the most valuable medium during the introduction of the New Turkish Script.

In this thesis, the background information about the development of printing and newspapers was given since this process is significant to understand the technical aspects of the script transformation. On the other hand, the Script Reform was explained in detail to provide required information to understand intellectual, socio-political and cultural background of the reform and the adoption of the New Turkish Script.

By considering the findings of research and case study it is possible to say that, early practices of the New Turkish Script on *Cumhuriyet* newspaper were mostly typographic replacements with the Latin script more than the new typographic decisions. By taking the matching typefaces of *Cumhuriyet* and *La Republique* newspapers into consideration this might be assumed, *La Republique* made significant contributions to the publication of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper in terms of technical knowledge and equipment during the transition to the new script.

Within the scope of this thesis, advertorial content was not included in the both analysis and the case study. As a further study, the advertisements, which were published during the transition period, can be analysed in the future. The obtained data for this study can be a reference and support for future studies, which are focused on the typographic practices and the Turkish Script Reform.

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## **APPENDICES**

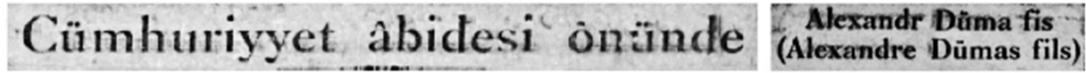
## APPENDIX A

Typefaces which were used on *Cumhuriyet* newspaper during the transition period.

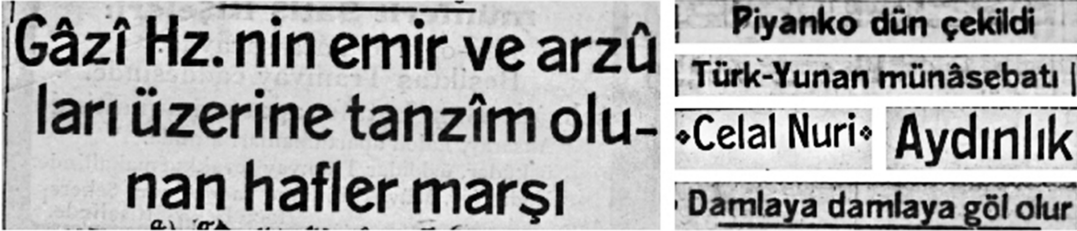
Typeface 1: The most frequent used typeface on Cumhuriyet newspaper during the transition



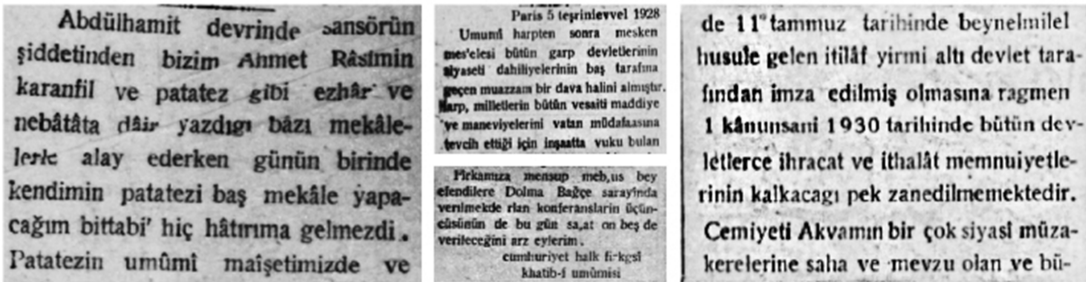
Typeface 2: Serif typeface which was mostly preferred for the titles and subtitles



Typeface 3: Sans serif Grotesk typeface which was mostly preferred for the subtitles



Typeface 4: Serif typeface which was preferred for the running texts

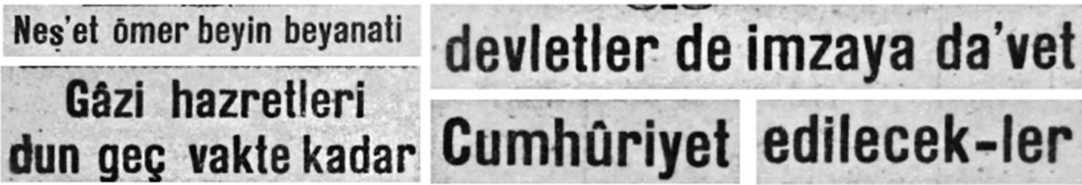




Typeface 5: Sans serif Grotesk typeface which was preferred for the titles and subtitles



Typeface 6: Sans serif condensed typeface which was mostly preferred for the subtitles



Typeface 7: Serif typeface which was used only for the title of Little Town Stories column



Typeface 8: Serif typeface which was used for the title of Grand Aeroplane Lottery announcement



Typeface 9: Decorative Slab Serif typeface which was used for the title of a column



## APPENDIX B

### Case 1: Transformation of *Meşhur İnsanlar* (Famous People) column (Page 38-39)

1 August 1928



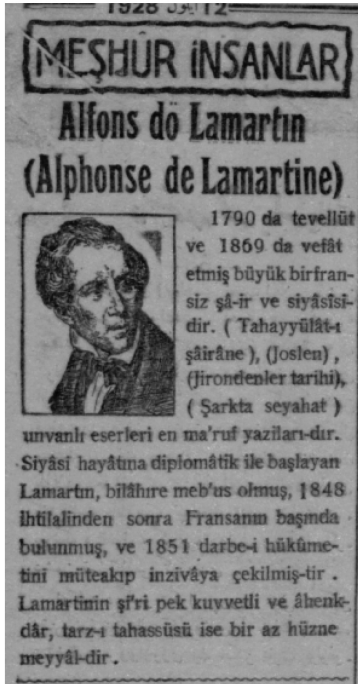
22 August 1928



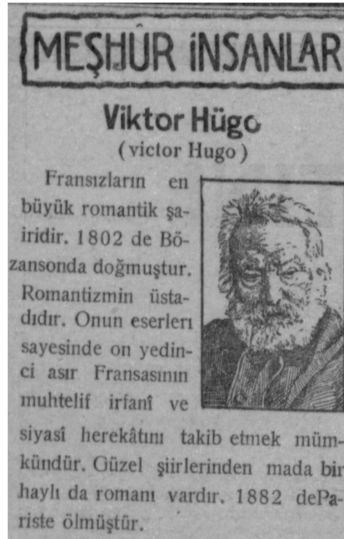
5 September 1928



12 September 1928



3 October 1928



21 November 1928



## APPENDIX C

### Case 2: The transformation of the *Büyük Tayyare Piyankosu* (Grand Aeroplane Lottery) announcement

(Page 41-42)



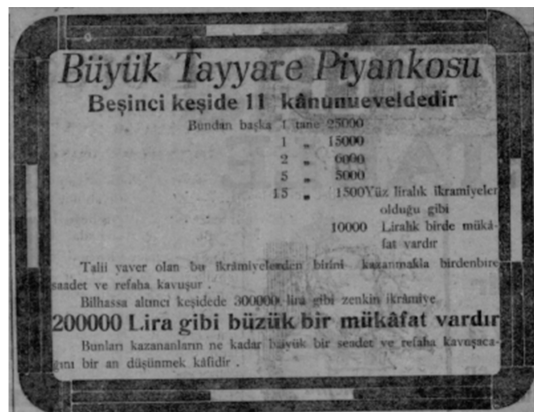
1 August 1928



5 September 1928



26 September 1928



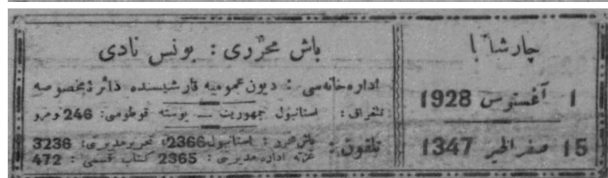
5 December 1928

## APPENDIX D

### Case 3: Masthead transformation of Cumhuriyet newspaper (Page 42-43)



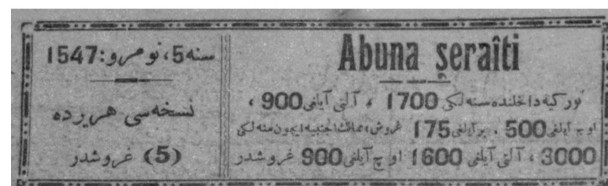
1 August 1928



15 August 1928

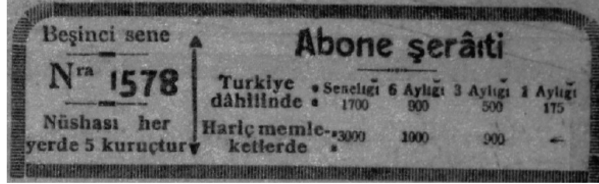


22 August 1928



29 August 1928

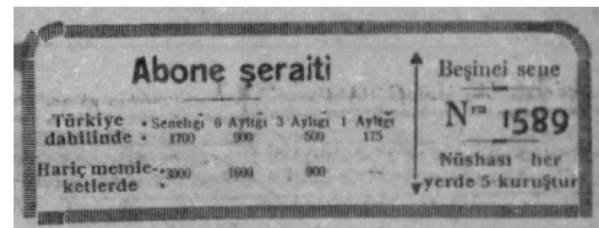




29 September 1928



3 October 1928



10 October 1928



## APPENDIX E

### Case 4: The transformation of the main article of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper (Page 43-44)

1 August 1928



29 September 1928



22 August 1928



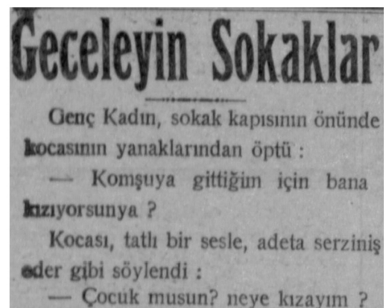
29 September 1928 (Last page)



29 August 1928



3 October 1928



5 September 1928



5 December 1928



## APPENDIX F

### First page of the data form which was prepared for the research

#### DATA FORM: TYPOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS ON CUMHURİYET NEWSPAPER

Name	Date	Total number of pages	Number of the content with the new script
Cumhuriyet Newspaper	August 1 <sup>st</sup> , 1928	8	2

Content no	The number of fonts	Place of use	Font style	Paragraph Style
1	1	Title	Serif / Regular	Centered - All Caps

Content no	The number of fonts	Place of use	Font style	Paragraph Style
2	1	Text	Serif / Regular	Centered - lowercase

Name	Date	Total number of pages	Number of the content with the new script
Cumhuriyet Newspaper	August 8 <sup>th</sup> , 1928	8	2

Content no	The number of fonts	Place of use	Font style	Paragraph Style
3	1	Text	Serif / Regular	Centered - lowercase

Content no	The number of fonts	Place of use	Font style	Paragraph Style
4	1	Subtitle	Serif / Regular	Centered - Title Case

Name	Date	Total number of pages	Number of the content with the new script
Cumhuriyet Newspaper	August 15 <sup>th</sup> , 1928	8	1

Content no	The number of fonts	Place of use	Font style	Paragraph Style
5	1	Subtitle	Serif / Regular	Centered - Title Case

Name	Date	Total number of pages	Number of the content with the new script
Cumhuriyet Newspaper	August 22 <sup>nd</sup> , 1928	8	3

Content no	The number of fonts	Place of use	Font style	Paragraph Style
6	1	Title	Serif / Regular	Centered - Sentence Case

Content no	The number of fonts	Place of use	Font style	Paragraph Style
7	2	Title	Serif / Bold	Centered - Sentence Case

Content no	The number of fonts	Place of use	Font style	Paragraph Style
8	2	Text	Serif / Regular	Justified - Sentence Case

Content no	The number of fonts	Place of use	Font style	Paragraph Style
8	2	Title	Serif / Regular	Centered - Sentence Case

Content no	The number of fonts	Place of use	Font style	Paragraph Style
8	2	Text	Serif / Regular	Justified - Sentence Case

Name	Date	Total number of pages	Number of the content with the new script
Cumhuriyet Newspaper	August 29 <sup>th</sup> , 1928	8	14

Content no	The number of fonts	Place of use	Font style	Paragraph Style
9	2	Title	Serif / Regular	Centered - All Caps

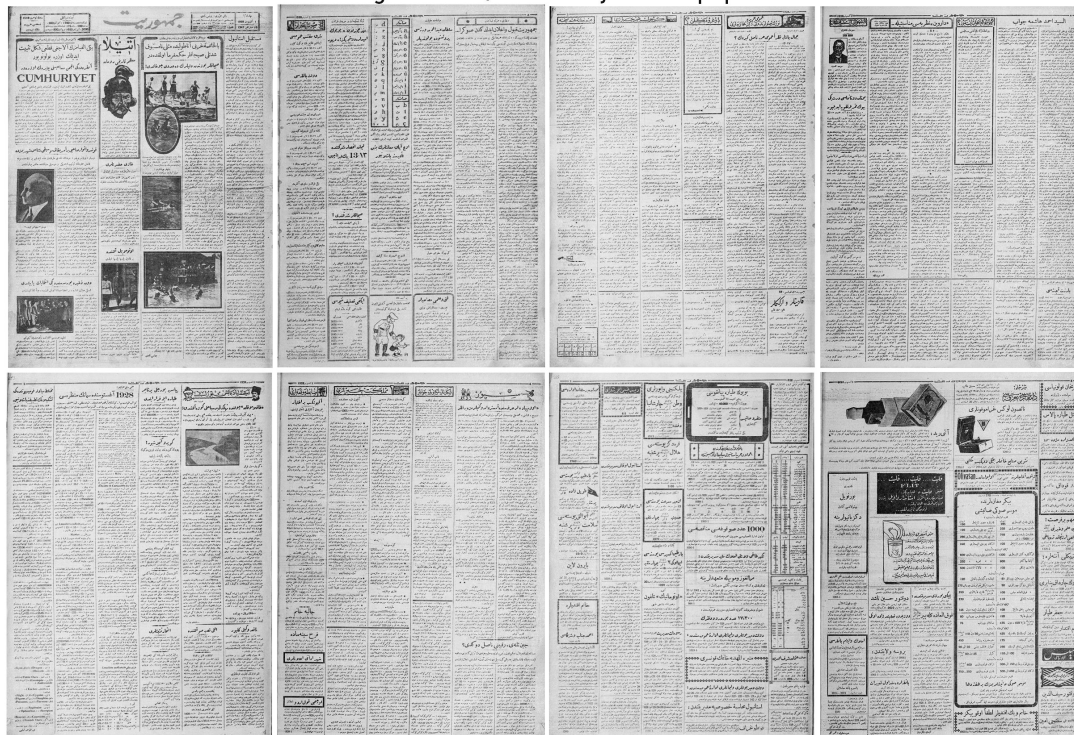
Content no	The number of fonts	Place of use	Font style	Paragraph Style
9	2	Subtitle	Sans Serif / Regular	Centered - Sentence Case



## APPENDIX G

### Analysed newspaper pages

1 August 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper

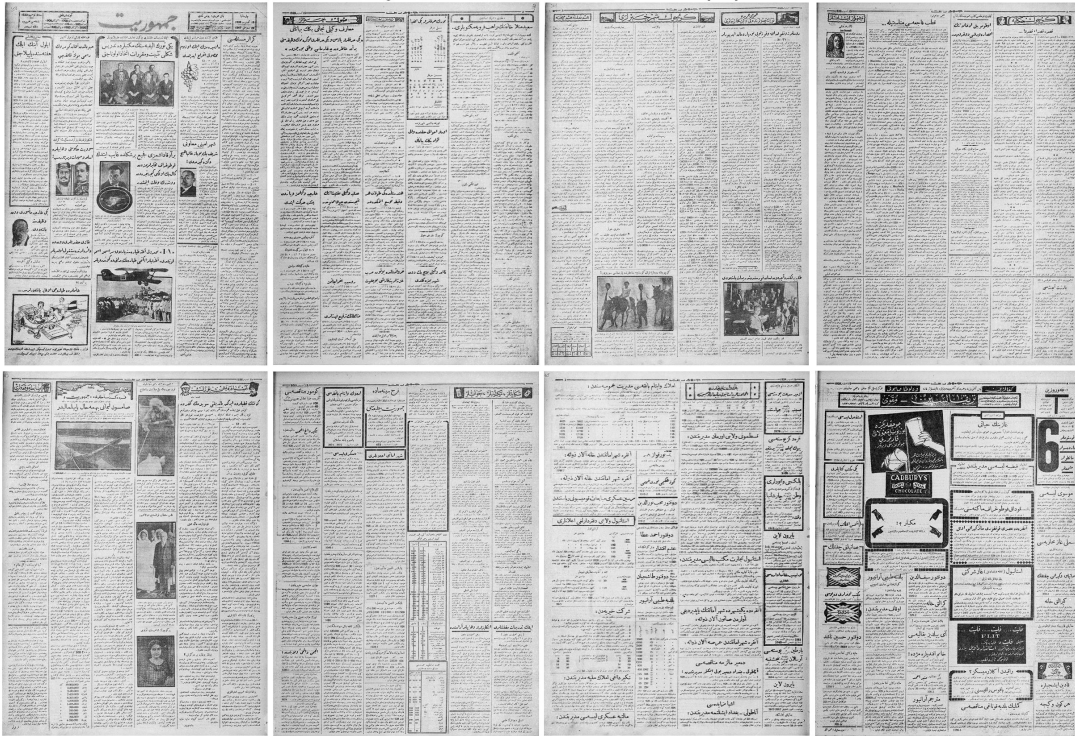


8 August 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper

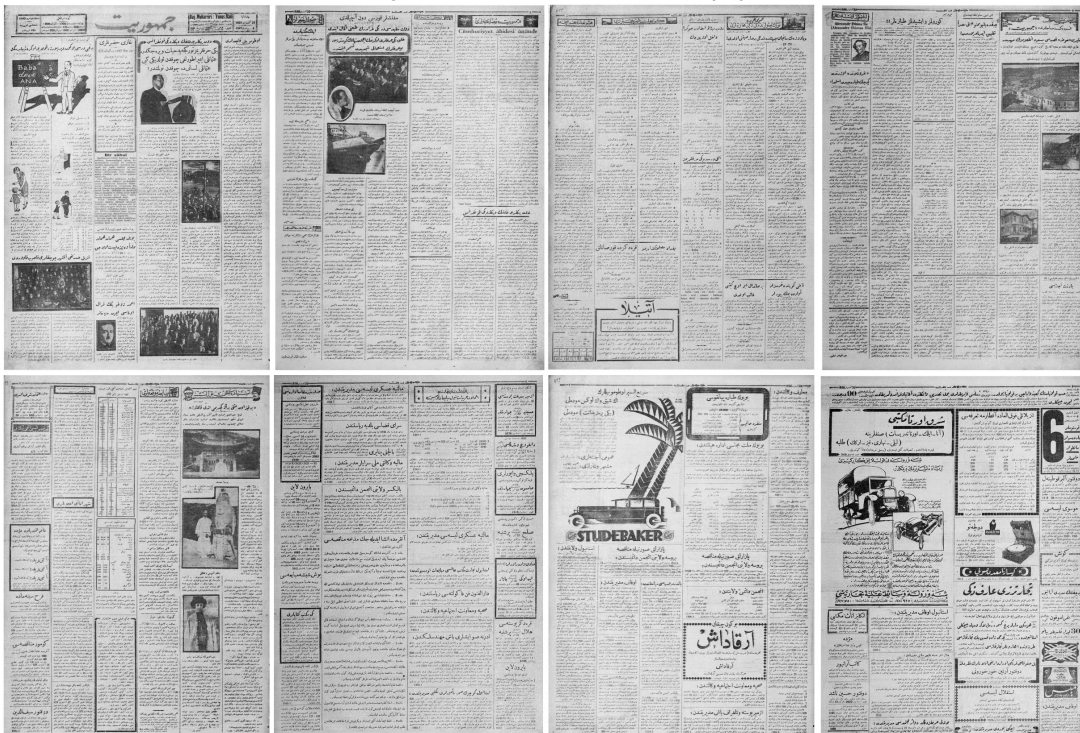




15 August 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper



22 August 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper



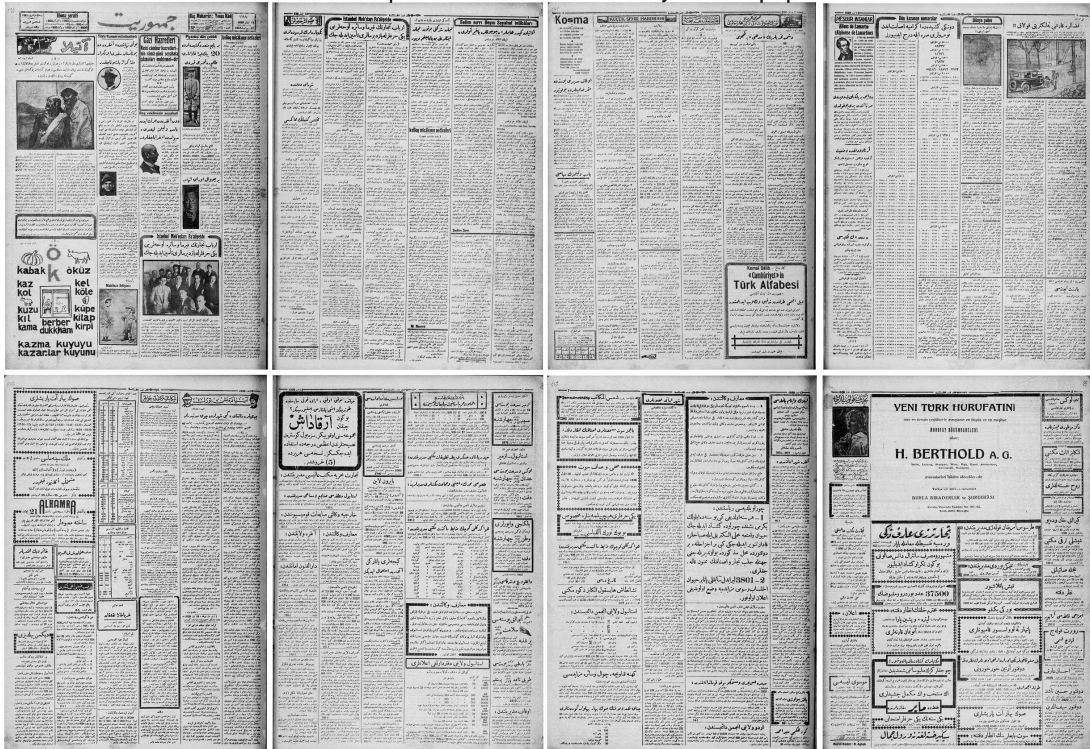
29 August 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper



5 September 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper



12 September 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper

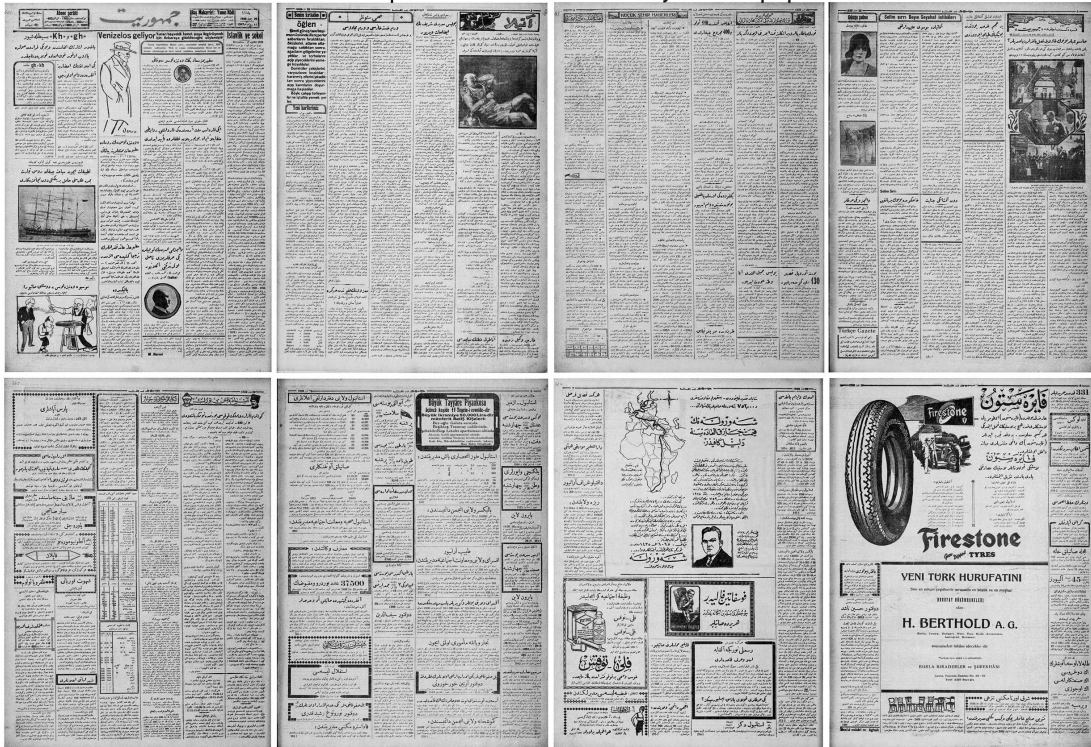


19 September 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper

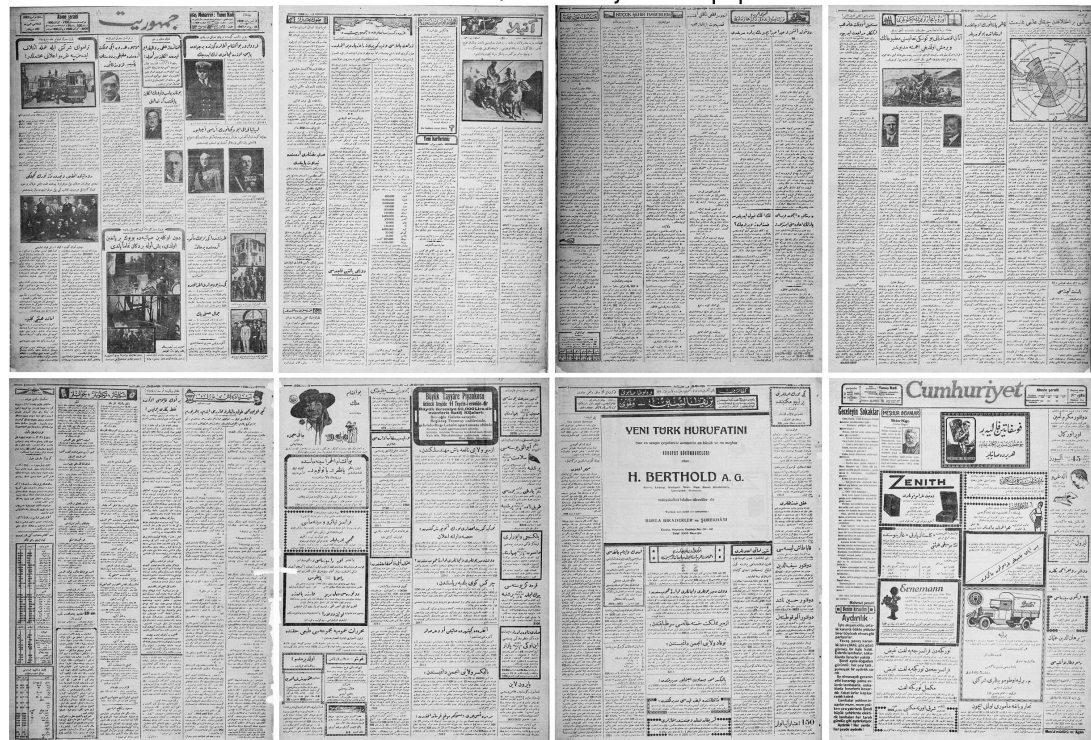




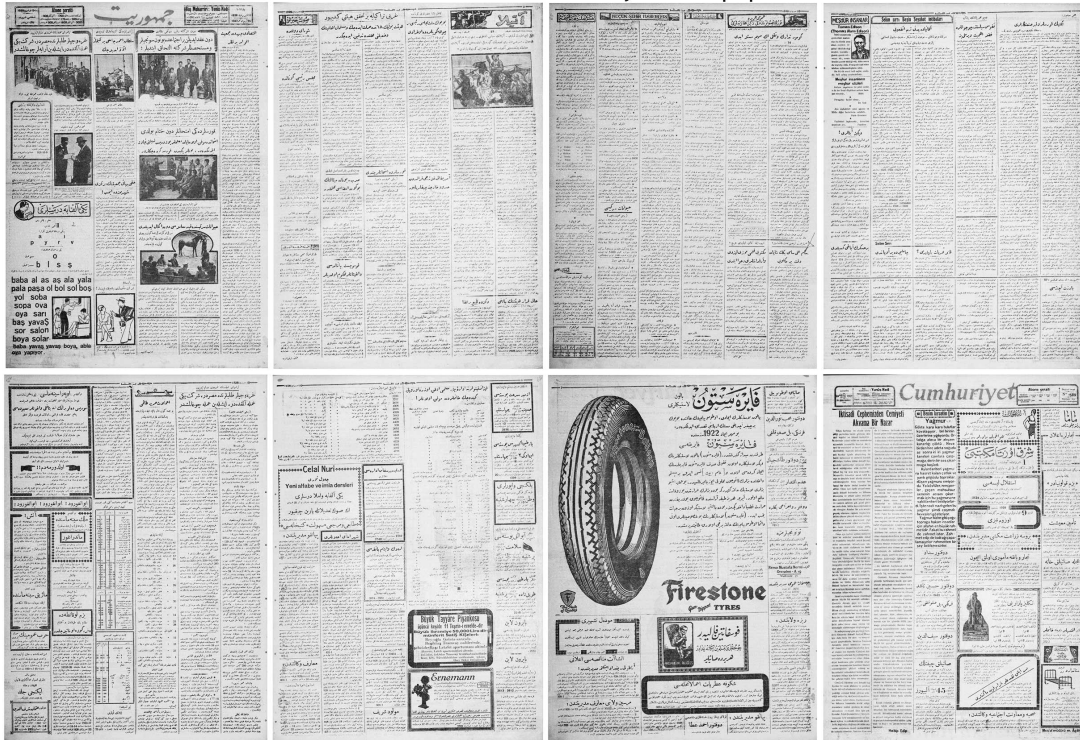
26 September 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper



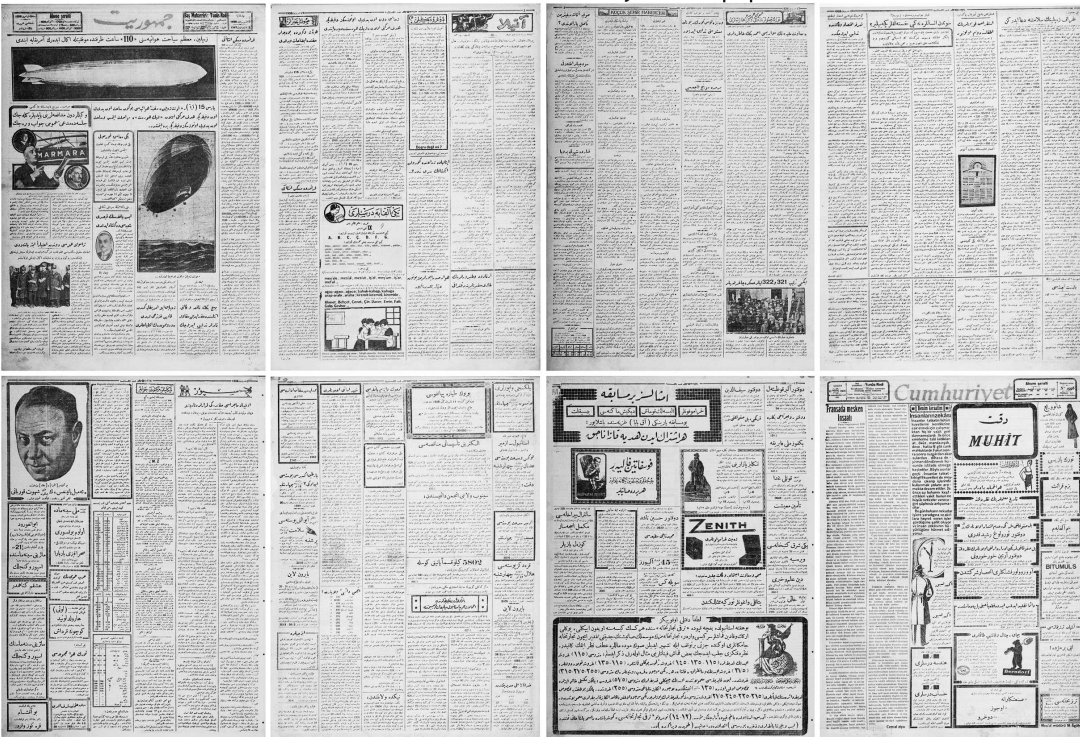
3 October 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper



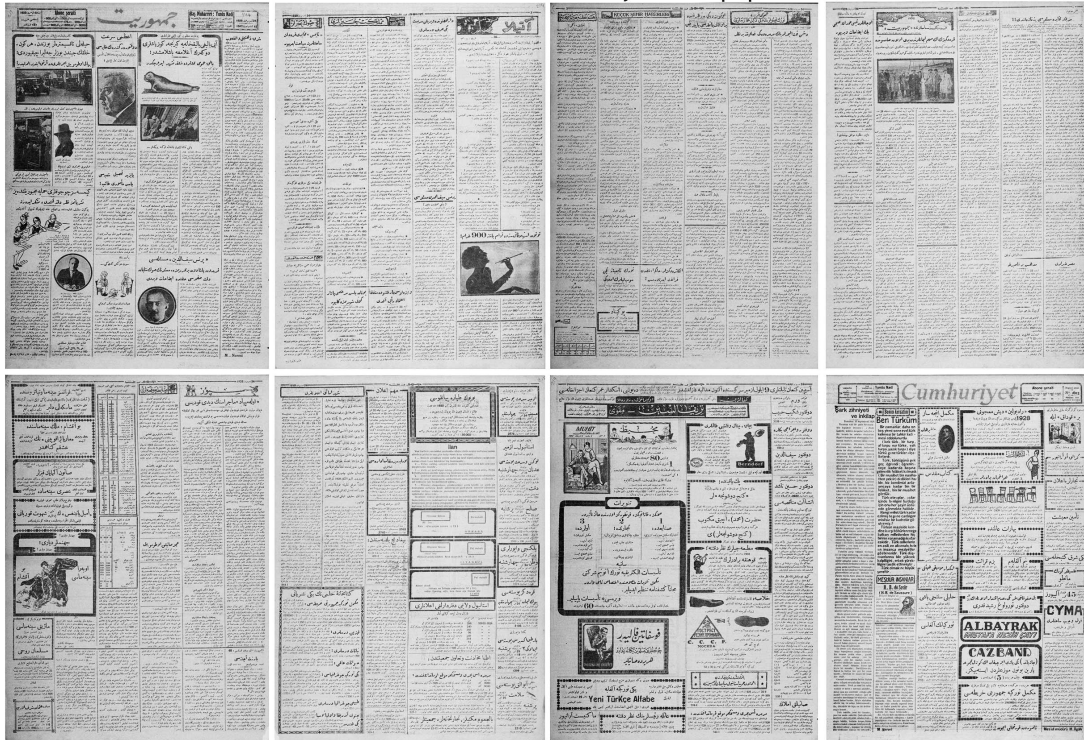
10 October 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper



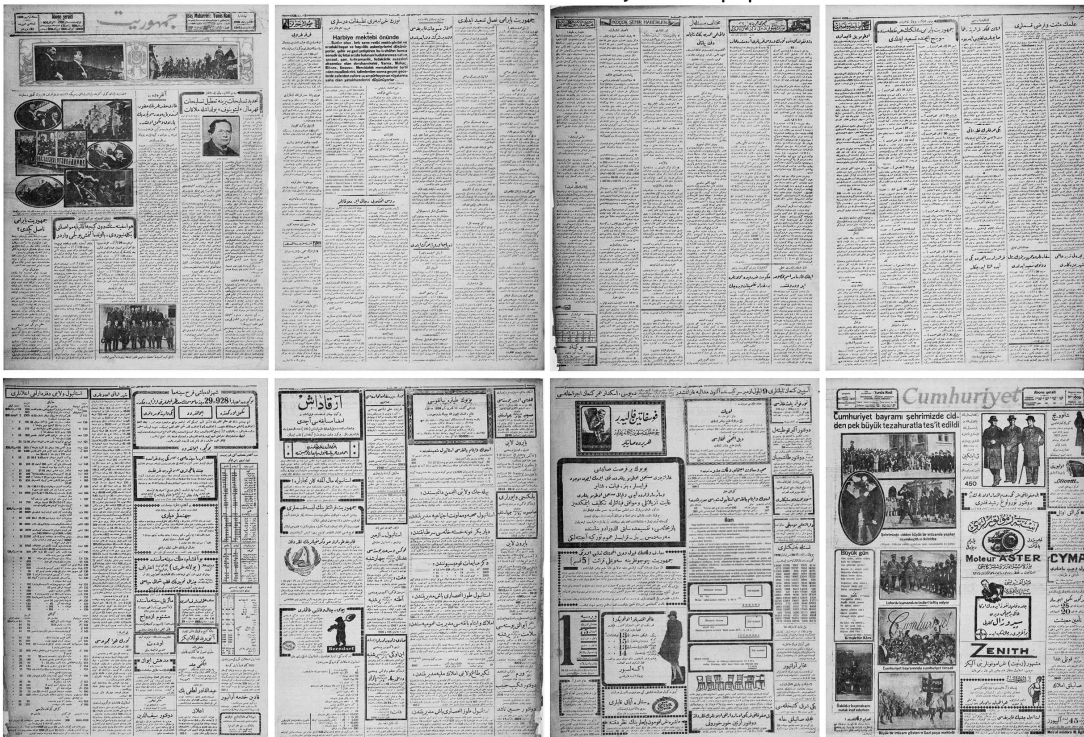
17 October 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper



24 October 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper



31 October 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper

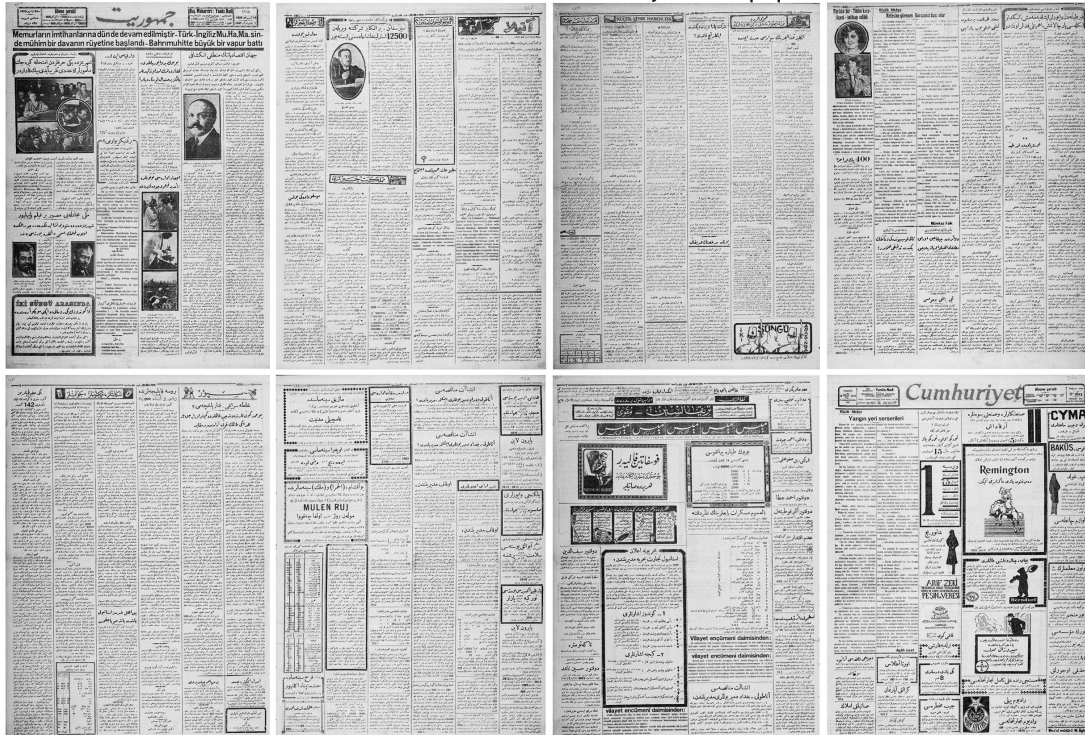




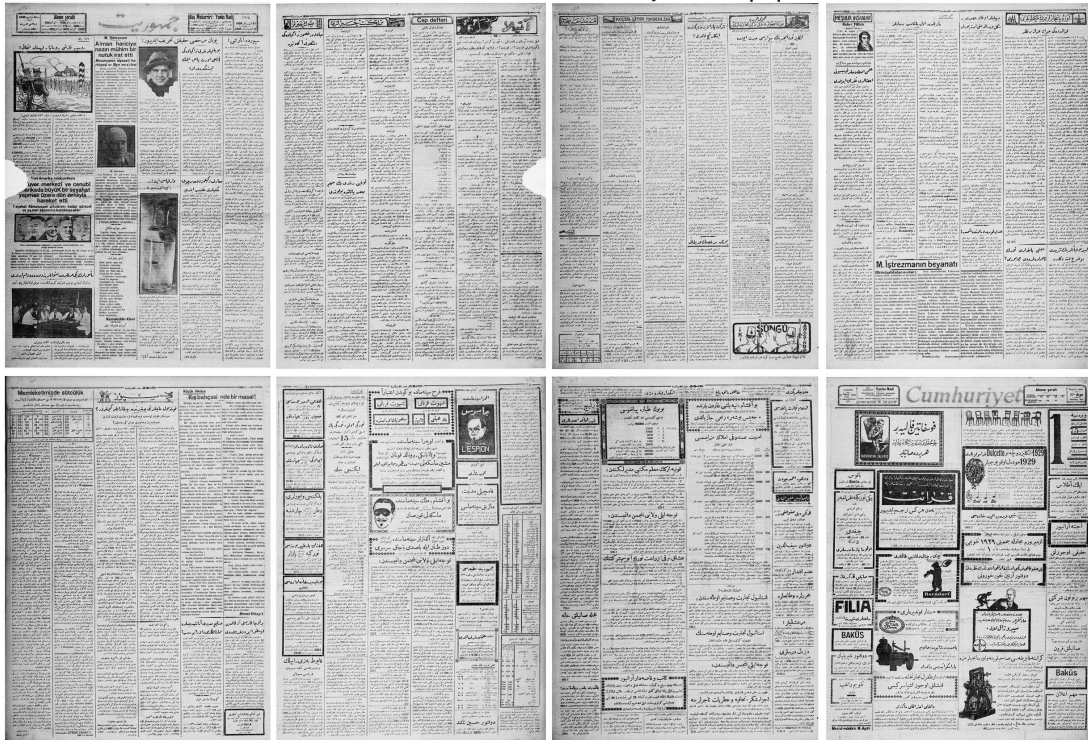
7 November 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper



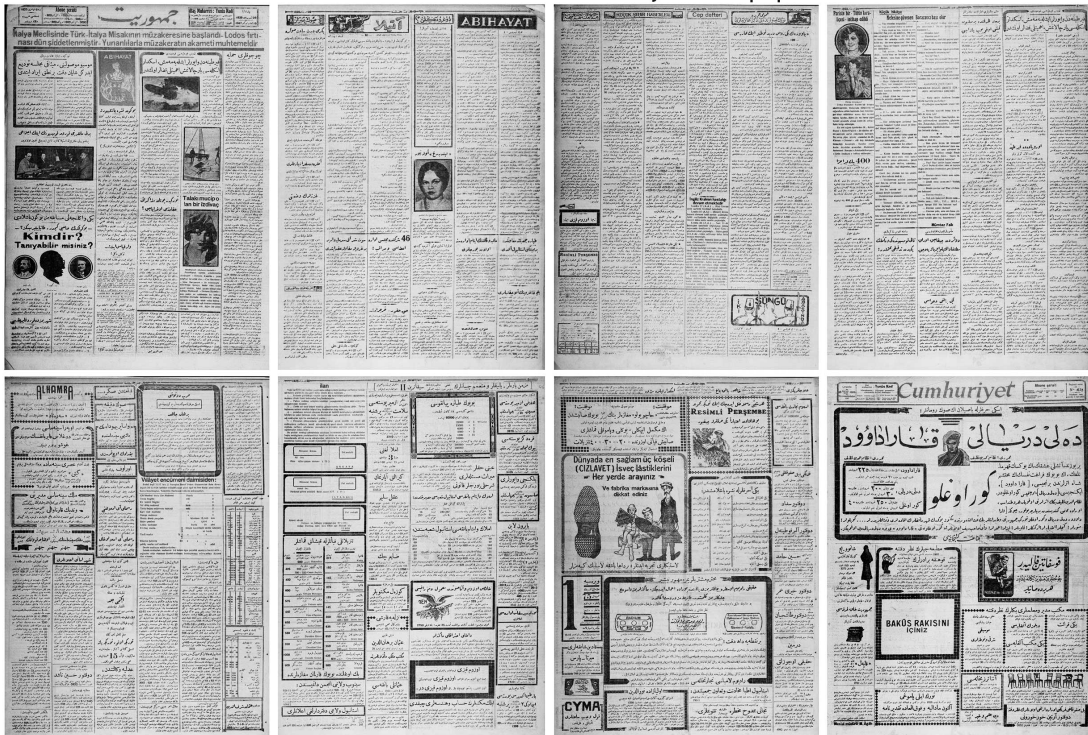
14 November 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper



21 November 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper



28 November 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper





5 December 1928 / Cumhuriyet newspaper

